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JOURNAL

EDITED BY J. K. CHOUDHURI, M.A.

VOL. III.

OCTOBER, 1934

No. I.

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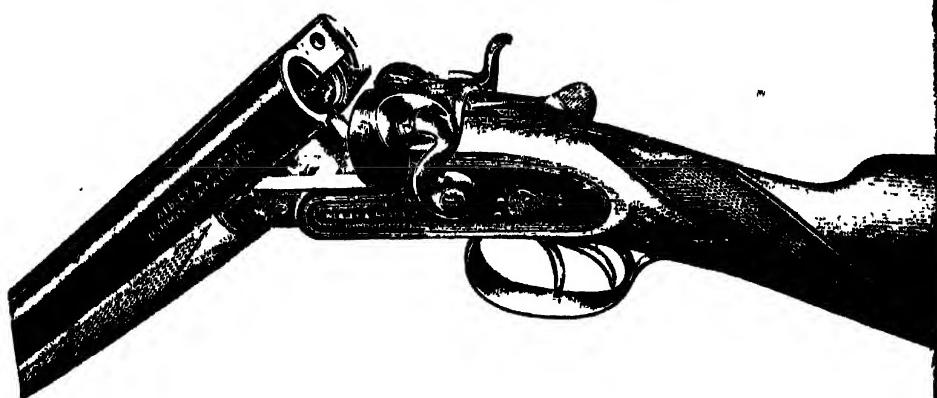
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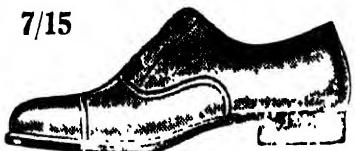
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EDITOR'S NOTICE.

The "Landholders' Journal" is, as its title indicates, the accredited organ of the landholding community of India. It has come into existence to promote the interests—political, social and economic, of the landholding classes, and must necessarily depend for its success on the active co-operation and assistance of the community which it serves.

The policy of the Journal is progressive and dictated by one ideal—progress of the country as a whole along constitutional lines and without impairment of the basic rights of the zamindar community closely allied as they are with those of their tenants.

The Editor cordially invites articles and contributions on problems of interest to the country in general and to the landholding community in particular, items of personal and district news, reports of political and social events, autobiographical and biographical sketches with photographs of prominent members of the landholding community and photographs of general topical interest.

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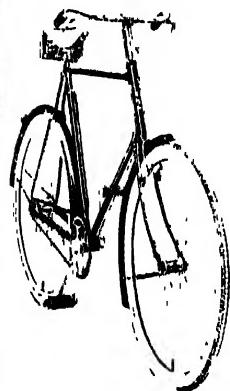
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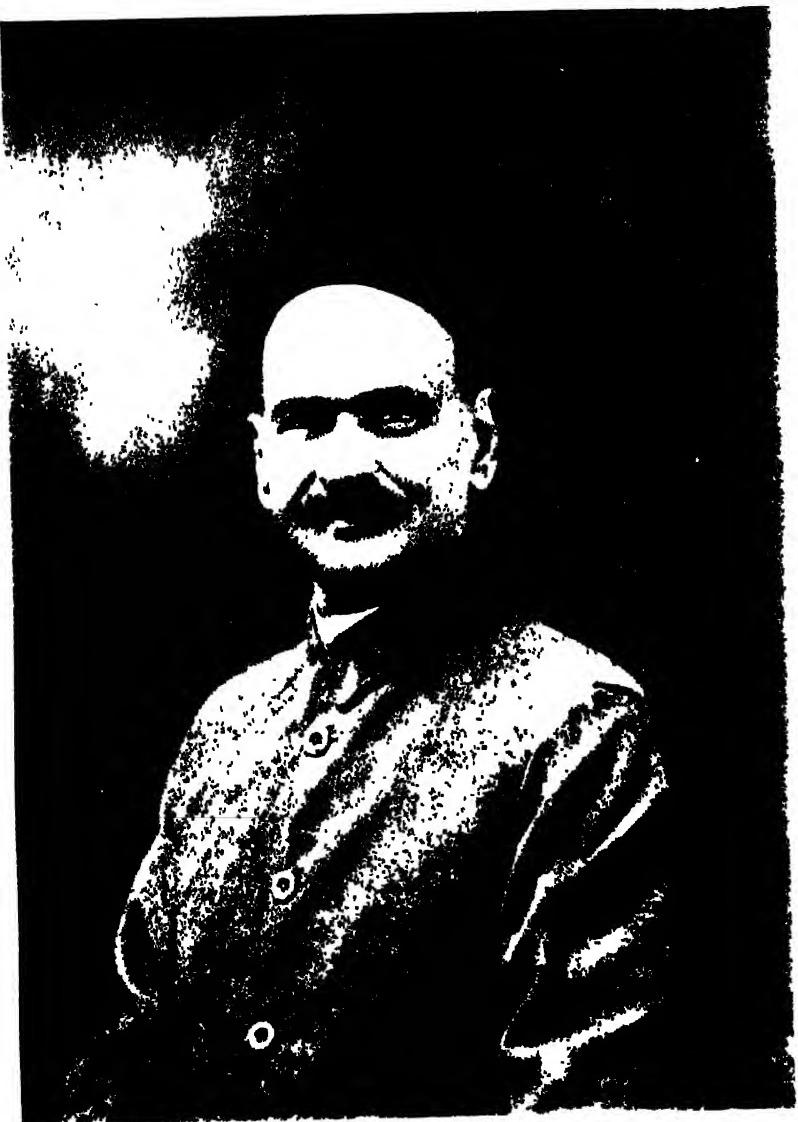
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Vol. III.

OCTOBER, 1934.

No. I.

Ourselves

Through the grace of God the *Landholders' Journal* has been able to complete the second year of its existence. During the short span of two years it has endeavoured to pursue, steadily and consistently, its ideal of working for progressive development of the country along constitutional lines without impairment of the basic rights of the zamindar community closely allied as they are with those of their tenants. In the promotion of the manifold interests of the landholding community it has never ceased to remind them of the obligations which are the necessary adjuncts to their valuable rights. By recounting the solid and valuable achievements of those past and present members of the community who were or are inspired by the highest ideals of service, it has sought, on the one hand, to stimulate the present generation of landholders to live up to their glorious traditions of beneficence and usefulness, and, on the other, to remove the prejudices and misconceptions regarding the landholding community, which, unfortunately, are found to prevail among a large section of our countrymen. It has been calling, with all the force at its command, a halt to the pernicious propaganda that the zamindar community has outlived its usefulness. For whatever success has attended its efforts it thanks God and its numerous patrons and constituents whose sympathy and support has made it possible.

For ourselves we enter upon the third year of our venture with increased self-confidence and unshaken faith in the righteousness of our cause and we only hope that all believers in constitutional and orderly progress, irrespective of caste, colour or creed, will accord us their fullest measure of moral and financial support for the further and better prosecution of our mission.

An Ideal Zamin

By Lt. N. RAMABHADRA NAYAK,
Zamindar of Vadalgarai and Doddappanayakkanur,
Madura Dt., South India.

IN Southern India there are many Zamins. In olden days they were in a flourishing condition. But now they are decaying gradually. The reason for this is want of co-operation between the Zamindars and their tenants. For this both the Zamindars and the tenants are responsible.

SYMPATHY

At present most of the Zamindars are interested only in the collection of rent. A tenant does not always realise what he expects from his fields owing to drought, or excess of rain, or pests. If the Zamindar wisely remits a portion of the rent which tenants find impossible to pay during lean years, he can make himself an ideal landlord. But few Zamindars are disposed to do it. No wonder there is no love lost between the Zamindar and his tenants.

EDUCATION

Moreover the Zamindar must feel it his duty to educate the tenants by establishing one or more free elementary schools within the Zamin where the tenants may get instruction not only in the three R's. but also in agriculture, hygiene, and civics. Money spent on the education of tenants is not a waste, for it is not the tenants alone who gain by the education they receive, but also the Zamindars. The work of the tenants becomes more efficient, and so the yield of the Zamin lands increases. Moreover the tenants will acquire the ability to appreciate the blessings conferred upon them by the Zamindar.

IRRIGATION FACILITIES

Another important thing to which the Zamindar must pay attention is to provide irrigation facilities for his Zamin lands. Many Zamindars, do not care to repair the tanks, canals and wells in their Zamins. The result is that the lands are not properly irrigated, and the output gradually decreases though the tenants have to pay to the Zamindar the whole amount of their rent. So the Zamindar must set apart from his income a sum to meet maramath charges every year

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

Again the Zamindar must establish a co-operative society in the Zamin for the benefit of the tenants. It must consist of two branches—the *purchase branch*—and the *sales branch*. The purchase branch will purchase good seeds, manure, scientific implements whole-sale, and distribute them

to the tenants according to their needs. The capital for the purchase of these things will, of course, be divided into shares and each tenant will take as many shares as he can afford. This way of purchasing is certainly more profitable to the tenants than any other, for the things are purchased wholesale. To the sales branch of the society the tenants must sell their superfluous grain. If they do so, they can get a better price than otherwise.

DISPUTES.

Generally the tenants in the Zamins are ignorant. Frequent disputes are likely to occur. The disputants often rush to courts of law and spend a large amount of money. The Zamindar must advise them and decide the disputes between them impartially.

ZAMIN-OFFICIALS.

The officers in the Zamin must not take bribes. They must always care for the welfare of the tenants.

ZAMIN CUSTOMS.

In every Zamin there are customs peculiar to itself. The Zamindar must adhere to those customs scrupulously. If he fails to do so he would incur the displeasure of the tenants.

SURVEY.

There are very few Zamins which have been surveyed. The result is that sometimes the tenants are in possession of more lands than their patta's entitle them to. Under such circumstances disputes are likely to arise between the Zamindar and the tenants and among the tenants themselves. In order to avoid such disputes there must be periodical survey by the Government. Periodical survey has another advantage. As the tenants know exactly what extent of land they possess, the karnams cannot easily cheat them. In ryotwari areas a survey of lands takes place every 30 years. In Zamins it may be in every fifty years, the cost being borne by Zamindars and tenants.

INDUSTRIES.

Agriculture is the only industry which is carried on in most Zamins at present, though there may be scope for other industries. It is the duty of the Zamindar to find out with the help of experts what scope there is in his Zamin for the starting and development of industries. If there are many fruit bearing trees in the Zamin he may start the jam industry. If there is a water-fall he can generate electric power and utilize it for various purposes. If there are forests the timber industry may be started. If the Zamin is rich in mineral deposits recourse can be had to mining industry. Such undertakings will profit both zamindars and tenants.

BRING WASTE LANDS UNDER CULTIVATION.

In almost all the Zamins there are large areas of lands lying fallow. The Zamindars must bring such lands under cultivation by issuing temporary pattas to their tenants.

DUTIES OF THE TENANTS.

Till now I have discussed the duties of the Zamindar. The tenants also have their duties by their Zamindars. The tenants must pay their kist in time to avoid litigation with Zamindars. Wilful withholding of rents cannot but result in embitterment of relations between Zamindars and tenants. Cases of real hardship or actual inability should be favourably considered by the Zamindars. The tenants must also co-operate with Zamindar by adopting whatever suggestions he might make for the improvement of the Zamin, for with refractory tenants the Zamindar cannot effect any improvements in the Zamin. Only in the hearty co-operation of the tenants and the Zamindars lies the salvation of the Zamin in our Presidency.

The Constitution of the Crisis

By R. V. M. G. RAMARAU,
Yuvarajah of Pithapuram.

CONSTITUTIONALISTS are racking their brains over the form the future constitution of India should take. What exactly it will be is another question. He is a bold prophet who can decipher completely the enigma of India's future. But it is to be earnestly hoped that the future will find India free from all bondages, political, social and religious. And in the meantime all schemes that are propounded for the amelioration of the country demand serious consideration.



Yuvarajah of Pithapuram.

We find ourselves in a tense atmosphere. Chaotic forces of ideas and ideals are dragging the country hither and thither, for better or for worse, time alone can say. Some advocate democracy of milder type, while some others favour drastic socialism, communism and Bolshevism. There are again some who honestly believe that democracy has failed and something like Fascism is necessary. Political thinkers are watching the international situation so that lessons might be learnt, inasmuch as world forces influence world politics. But that, too, does not help us much, because international political arena is as much the battle-ground of conflicting ideas as our own.

Then, we have people who believe that a return to the pre-Montford days is preferable. Again some advocate Federation and maintain that the White Paper scheme should be accepted. Yet there are some who think that nothing short of Dominion Status, as defined by the Statute of Westminster, is acceptable. To some complete independence is the motto. As in

everything else there is no unity even in our political aspirations. The trouble is not that we have too many ideas and schemes, but that we do not have one strong idea or scheme which can dominate all the others and can give the country a definite lead.

For this, we want one strong man, a super-man. It may not be very easy to get such a man. At the same time neither is it impossible. Something akin to a Constituent Assembly can find the required person. He should be elected as the head and should be given all the powers of the State. He is to be supreme. The Assembly may not be unanimous. Let the will of the majority prevail in the election. The elected person will be the absolute authority. Call him Leader or President or Ceasar or Dictator - it makes very little difference. He will be the First Servant of the State.

It is idle to discuss here who such a Leader will be, in case the above step is taken. It is only necessary to say that suitable persons, though rare in the very nature of things, will not be found entirely wanting. Actually, it may be Lord Willingdon or Mahatma Gandhi. Who knows !

Whoever he may be, he must have a dynamic personality. His term of office is to be, say, somewhere about five years. This is necessary because limitless time may bring many dangers, which one will never understand at the beginning. After five years the people's Assembly should meet again for the purpose of electing a Leader afresh. Naturally the outgoing Leader will have every chance of being re-elected, for he would have the record of his work to back him. If he is found wanting by any chance, he falls. Another attempt will be made and a new person fills the office.

This limitation of the term of the Leader, while giving him every opportunity to raise his country without any fear, will act as a check on the impetuosity which sometimes attends power and position. Moreover, the elections may be something like a fillip to him. But generally it will be found that when a Leader is appointed, he will continue to be the Leader through all the elections, till his voluntary retirement or demise. When a man does well, he naturally captures the hearts of the people. And there is no reason why a Leader should be an exception to the rule. On the contrary, he will be extremely popular. Opposition there will be, but an overwhelming majority will applaud him. Signor Mussolini and President Roosevelt are popular and the respective nations are behind their respective leaders, despite the opposition which a few may offer. And the Leader will eventually triumph over the obstructive tactics of interested groups.

As everything else, the army must be at the beck and call of the Leader. The Leader will be the supreme Commander. It is to be hoped that a time will come when armies will dwindle into police forces and the use of physical force will be a thing of the past. But till then, and till the world is educated enough to receive the message of nonviolence in its correct form, the army will be indispensable. Society is not all made of angels. Perhaps, to some extent brute force is necessary to subdue brutish elements.

But one thing is necessary. The army should not be a personal army

of the Leader, for if it is so, it may lead to grave dangers. The election of a new Leader may be nullified by the outgoing Leader, with the help of the army. So, there should be only a national army, a well-disciplined army owing allegiance *immediately* to the Leader during his term of office and *ultimately* to the State.

The Leader naturally will appoint as his advisers and lieutenants, people of ability, who will support him. There will be the usual paraphernalia of executive machinery, implicitly carrying out the orders of the Leader.

The advantages of such a system are manifold. What a parliamentary government would take scores of years to achieve, can be achieved in a very short time under this system. Moreover, party system, which is supposed to be the foundation of parliamentary government, has utterly failed. It could not face and solve boldly those mighty problems which seem to defy even collective human wisdom. The force of arguments can be appreciated when international politics is considered. Italy and Germany have become seats of dictatorship, with no party government in the parliamentary sense. Austria has followed suit. Stalin is all in all in Soviet Russia. President Roosevelt is practically the dictator of the United States of America. And even in England, that stronghold of parliamentary government, the party conventions have been broken and party government has been abandoned at least for the present. Is not the National Government a negation of all the fundamentals of party system?

Therefore, one need not be alarmed if the party system and even parliamentary government are suspended. If a new form of government is found to be more beneficial, at least for the present, there is no meaning in not giving it a fair trial. What is necessary now is not parliamentary oratory, but immediate action. Otherwise, the country will be all the worse. So, one supreme Leader, free from the shackles of parliamentary defects and delays, is the crying need of the hour. He alone will be able to bring the country out of misery.

For example, if we have a supreme Leader he will, with a stroke of pen pass measures that shall transform the country. He can freely and effectively deal with such monsters as the communal spirit and the caste system with its climax in untouchability. And there are other problems such as unemployment, rural indebtedness and general poverty, which demand immediate attention. What exactly the Leader will do, it is presumptuous to say. But this much is certain, he can deal with them more effectively and quickly than an unwieldy legislature, with its cumbersome procedure.

But one thing must be admitted. The Leader may make mistakes. Still, when the risks of his committing mistakes are weighed against the great possibilities of his doing great things, the former will be found hopelessly wanting. Every great enterprise will have its risks and the risks are insignificant when compared to the great possibilities of achievement. If

no risk is taken, progress is impossible. But progress we must, and even the theory of *status quo* should not mean stagnation. So, in the words of a famous man let us say, 'let the attempt be made'.

Theorists and constitutionalists may be wondering what this new scheme which is advocated by the writer is to be called. Even though it is, to a great extent, dictatorship, it is not thoroughly so in that the term of the Leader is limited. Though no name is necessary, yet for convenience sake, it may be called the Constitution of the Crisis. For it is the opinion of the writer that this new scheme, if it is really new, is not to be considered as the universal panacea for all evils and for all times. No, it is definitely advocated in a limited sense, that is, as best suited *for the present*. Neither should the criticism of the present parliamentary government be misunderstood as the denunciation of parliamentary government as such. It was useful, it may again be useful in future, but now, during this national crisis, it is, to a great extent, useless and out of place. Give up that which has become impotent and take to that which will give a fresh lead to the country, a fresh life to the body politic.

Unfortunately a great number of the political thinkers suffer from a narrowness of vision. Each has his own theory, absolutely sound in itself and very useful at a given moment but equally useless at another moment, which he would advocate as the sovereign remedy for all our evils till Doomsday. They pin their faith on a particular theory and loathe to part with it. It is time they realised that world conditions were changing and that even their theories were to be modified accordingly. After all, political theories and schemes exist for the benefit and amelioration of mankind. But let not mankind be sacrificed at the altar of political theories. Theories can go to dogs, but humanity cannot be ignored. Life is a complex affair. In its progressive march fresh problems arise, demanding fresh solutions.

So, one should not reject any new scheme simply because it happens to be new. Political thinkers should consider a proposed scheme properly and dispassionately and give it a chance. If mere prejudice prevents them from considering any innovation, however sound it may be, it can only be described as peevish and unreasonable stubbornness.

But time alone will prove the wisdom of having one able man as the Leader to mould the present history of this country. When once the crisis has passed and when it is found that the great problems that are staring us in the face with the formidableness of destruction, have been solved, then the 'constitution of the crisis' with its supreme Leader, can be given up, in favour of a better scheme that may be devised later on.

Anyway that is a question of the future. We are now primarily concerned with the *living* present. It is demanding a great gesture for us. Let us rise to the occasion and face facts.

Hindu-Muslim Unity

BY RAI BAHADUR VAIDYA NATH DAS, B.A.

WHATEVER the relative importance of the communal problem might be in our discussions on the future Indian constitution, the communal controversies occupy our minds much more than matters of great import and cast their shadows over all our political work. Since 1919, communalism has been gradually gaining in strength. It has assumed serious proportions to-day : at one time it threatened to wreck the Round Table Conference.



Rai Bahadur Baidya Nath Das, B.A.

whether real or so-called, that no constitutional progress is possible without first settling this thorny problem.

The communal problem of India is primarily the Hindu-Muslim problem. Other communities have, however, taken up of late an aggressive attitude and have been demanding special rights and privileges. The Sikhs in the Punjab form an important minority, which cannot be ignored. Hindus themselves are faced with disintegration because of the genesis of depressed and untouchable class problem. In the South there is the question of Brahmins and non-Brahmins. But inspite of all this, the problem essentially is as to how we can bring about unity between the Hindus and the Muslims, or adjust the differences between the two communities.

The proportions of the various communities inhabiting India according to 1921 census are :

Hindus	65.9
Muslims	24.1
Buddhists	4.6
Tribal Religions	2.8
Christians	1.2
Sikhs	1.0
Jains	.2
Others	.2

100.0

The distribution of the Muslim population is such that they form a small minority everywhere, except in N. W. F. Province, Bengal, the Punjab, Baluchistan and Sind. In the Punjab they are 55.3 p.c., in Bengal 54.0 p.c., in Sind 73.4 p. c., while in Baluchistan and the N. W. F. Province they are overwhelmingly strong. Their highest minority is in the United Provinces, but even here it is less than 15 p.c. It may be noted here that this 15 p. c. is not spread out all over the province but is largely concentrated in urban areas, especially in northern districts of the province.

From the figures quoted above, it is apparent that the Muslim community is strong enough to look after itself and requires no special safeguards or bottle-feeding. Communal protection is not necessary for the two major communities—the Hindus and the Muslims ; it might be necessary for those small communities, which together form 10 per cent of the total population. But logic and commonsense have nothing to do with communal feelings, and to-day we find the whole problem resolving itself into the removal from the minds of each of a baseless fear and distrust of the other, and of installing a feeling of security for all communities. In search of material gains and safety, each party wants to secure for itself a dominating position. Some of the communal spokesmen do not even seem to believe in the virtue of 'live and let live.' In this atmosphere the only method of creating a sense of security is the provision of safeguards and guarantees and the grant, as far as possible, of cultural autonomy.

The aims of political reforms are to make the people to whom such reforms are given, prosperous, happy and contented, to open out for them a fresh field for action to achieve what they want in a constitutional way, and to give them a greater share in the working of the constitution and in moulding the future of their motherland. In order to make such reforms possible, we ought to be able to find out a uniformity in diversity and not create a diversity in uniformity, as the latter would by itself frustrate the very object of the reforms, and instead of turning the different people into a homogeneous whole, would be doing the exact reverse.

Leaving aside the question of Muslims, who seem to be very keen on separate electorate for themselves, I would not like, under any circum-

stances, to extend the principle of separate electorates to any other community or interest. In spite of the fact that the Reforms of 1919 did give some powers to the legislatures and extended the franchise a little, we could not benefit by them, simply because of the highly defective scheme of franchise, which divided the country into religions, castes, creeds, interests and economic groups. I have already stated that for the better working of a constitution and the amalgamation of different interests, it is necessary that we should find out some uniformity in diversity, and therefore no reform could serve its purpose, if it would intensify the already existing differences. If we were to divide the people into religious, racial, economic or professional groups, the system would defeat the very purpose of the reforms and very soon we would find ourselves in an all-pervading chaos. This sort of franchise would further accentuate the existing differences, and the future Government is sure to be faced with several mutually hostile parties, which would render the work of the Government extremely difficult. Further, the system of separate electorates would create narrowness in the minds of the electorate, who would consider themselves as parts of a particular community and not of the nation as a whole and be possessed of an impulse to serve communal and not national interests—an idea which is in itself a negation of democratic principles.

It is, therefore, clear that separate electorates for any community or communities—be they Hindus Muslims, Sikhs or any other—will not tend to create a favourable atmosphere for the working of a democratic constitution in India. But at the same time, joint electorates will also not do, since the Muslims—the most important minority community in the country—are quite opposed to them. The opposition has gone so far that even the Congress, avowed to joint-electorates, has decided to sleep over the Communal Award and not to express any opinion one way or the other.

We may for once go back before 1919 and we shall be astonished to find that there was practically no communal bitterness at that time. The system of joint electorates was quite satisfactory. In political, social and other spheres of life, Hindus and Muslims met on equal terms and even entrusted themselves to each other's care. There was very little of animosity and narrowness of mind, and they used to live on the most cordial terms. There was complete religious toleration and there was never any riot for the vindication of the religious rights. No dispute ever arose about music before mosques, *arti* or *namaz* rights, etc. Music was played always without any interference, and even now there are cities, one of which is our sacred city of Benares, where music is uninterruptedly played before mosques. There are several temples quite near mosques in our city—the most important being that of the Golden Temple of Shri Vishwanath where the bell is ringing almost all the 24 hours in the immediate vicinity of Aurangzeb's Mosque—but there have been no disputes about such petty matters. No doubt, in such religious riots generally members of the lower strata of society take part, but the responsibilities of those in authority do

not on that account cease. It may, according to some, be well and good for such differences to exist, but when one is considering national good or what is good for the purpose of National Government, one has to judge them in relation to the welfare of the country as a whole.

Now, as I have stated above, the good of the country demands that there should be joint electorates, but since the Muslims regard separate electorates as a "valued privilege", we have to find out some means whereby to create harmony in place of the existing discord in the country. No doubt, it is true that however sound and expedient certain suggestions may be, they can have weight and effect only to the extent that they are acceptable to all the principal parties concerned. I have, therefore, tried to suggest the least objectionable proposals. They are as follows :—

I. Where there is a majority of one community :

In such provinces there should be no statutory majority in the Council. It is simply absurd to insist on reservation of seats for the majority and claim full responsible government at the same time. Responsible Government is understood to mean a Government in which the executive is responsible to the legislature and the legislature to the electorate. If the members of the executive with the majority behind them have all got in by reservation and not by the free choice of the electorate, there is neither proper representation of the electorate nor any foundation for responsible government. Reservation of seats for a majority community gives to that community the statutory right to govern the country independently of the wishes of the electorates and is foreign to all conceptions of popular government. It will confine minorities within a ring-fence, and leave them no scope for expansion.

II. Where the Muslims are in a minority :

It is true that it would work great hardship on the Muslims in provinces where they are in a minority, if no reservation of seats is allowed. The result would be that in the Central Legislature the Muslims, who form nearly one-fourth of the total population of British India, would have no more than one-tenth of representation. Their representation in U.P., Bihar and some other provinces may also be unsatisfactory. It is here that one is compelled by force of circumstances to give way and advocate the introduction of a temporary element of communalism in the electorate system. Muslim minority should therefore be permitted reservation of seats in proportion to their population. The point of view expressed in suggestion No. 1 does not apply to minorities, for a minority remains a minority, whether any seat is reserved for it or not and cannot dominate the majority. In this connection it is necessary that I should make my position clear. I do not mean to put the Muslim minority in a ring-fence. What I mean is that it may have its full share on the population basis by reservation of seats, and anything over and above that share they should win by their own effort. Muslims cannot also reasonably claim reservation of seats

beyond their strict proportion to population and also the right to contest additional seats.

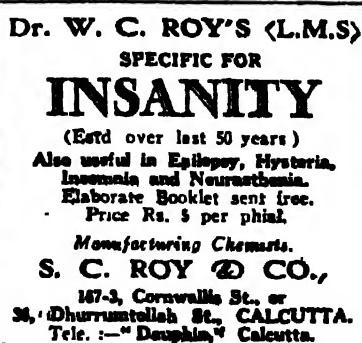
III. In the Central Legislature :

So far as the Central Legislature is concerned the demand of the Muslims has been that one-third of the total number of seats in the Central Legislature be reserved for them. The Muslims are a little less than one-fourth of the total population of British India, and there is no reason why they should be allowed one-third at the cost of the Hindus and other minority communities. I, therefore, suggest that in the case of Central Legislature, the Muslims should be given reservation of seats in accordance with their proportion to population, with the right to contest additional seats from the General constituency.

IV. The same principles as enunciated in paras II and III should apply to the Hindus where they are in a minority.

Since my purpose in this article has been to deal with the Hindu-Muslim problem, I leave out of consideration the question of other minorities.

With my views expressed as above, I must strike a note of warning that real Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be accomplished either by separate electorates or by reservation of seats. The only possible means to achieve this end is a change in the hearts of the two communities, with full realisation of the fact that it may well be possible for a third party to foster and nourish these communal differences in its own interest, and that, considering the good of the nation to which both the Hindus and the Muslims belong, these differences have to be set aside or composed for the sake of national solidarity and the proper working of responsible government. Even if the Muslims, enamoured of their "valued privilege" cling to it tenaciously, they will before long realise the mistake in not reaching a mutual agreement and sinking their differences in unfathomable oblivion.



Wanted a Land Revenue Bill in Bengal

BY GOPAL CHANDRA BISWAS, B.L.,
Pleader, Barisal.

THE greater portion of Bengal is, no doubt, comprised within the permanently settled area and its revenue is, therefore, fixed in perpetuity and not liable to alteration under any conditions, as it has been definitely laid down in the second part of Section 7, Art. VI of Regulation I of 1793 that "the Governor-General in Council trusts that the proprietors



of lands sensible of the benefits conferred upon them by the public assessment being fixed for ever will exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands under the certainty that they will enjoy exclusively the fruits of their own good management and industry and that no demand will ever be made upon them or their heirs or successors by the present or any future Government for an augmentation of the public assessment in consequence of the improvement of their respective estates." There is, however, in this province of Bengal a considerable tract, including the Sunderbans, the revenue of which is temporarily settled and is thus liable to be revised from time to time.

Babu Gopal Chandra Biswas, B.L.

In the Sunderban tract, situate within the districts of 24-Parganas, Khulna and Bakargunj, there are generally four classes of temporary-settled estates, viz.,—(1) Leases for 99 years, created under Rules of Circular No 36 of the Board of Revenue, Bengal, dated the 9th of April, 1853 : (2) Leases for 40 years, granted under the Large and Small Capitalistic Rules of the 12th of November, 1879 ; (3) Resumed Taufir Mahals created in consequence of Resumption proceedings, taken under Bengal Regulation No. 2 of 1819 ; and (4) Diara Mahals, created out of alluvial accretions to permanently and temporarily settled estates under Act IX of 1847 (Bengal Alluvion and Diluvion Act). This last class is not confined to the Sunderbans alone but extends almost to all the districts of Bengal. Each of these classes of settlement-holders has special grievances of its own, regarding its status, pitch of assessment, period of

revision, embankment charges and allowance of profit and collection charges.

A brief history of these four classes of estates will not be out of place here as this will clearly show how the assessment of these estates is, at present, entirely left to the discretion of the Executive Government.

Before giving a short history of these leases, we should have a clear idea of what is called the Sunderbans. The late Mr. Saradacharan Mitra, M. A., B. L., Puisne Judge, Calcutta High Court, in his Tagore Law Lectures, 1895, gave the following definition of the area included in the Sunderbans, which was also ratified by Mr. F. D. Ascoli in his "Revenue History of the Sunderbans, 1870-1920",—

'In the beginning of the 19th century, the large tract of deltaic lands known as the Sunderbans and covered with dense forest was not included within the permanently settled area of the districts of 24-Parganas and Jessore. Squatting and encroachment, however, by holders of adjacent permanently settled estates were common, even in those early days. In the year 1816, the Government thought it necessary to appoint a special officer called the Commissioner of the Sunderbans for the fiscal management of this tract. Section 3 of Regulation 2 of 1819, well-known as the Resumption Regulation, expressly referred to this forest tract, and in 1825, the settlement rules laid down in Regulation 7 of 1822 were made applicable to it. Up to this time, however, the attention of Government was directed only to the cleared and occupied portions which were technically 'taufir'. In 1828, rules were laid down for the determination of the boundaries of the tract which was formerly declared to be 'the property of the State', the same not having been alienated or assigned to zamindars or included in any way in the arrangements of the perpetual settlement'. The claims of persons in possession of cultivated lands in the neighbourhood of settled estates were left to be determined under the rules laid down in Reg. 2 of 1819. This sea-board of the delta of the Ganges was defined by the boundary line laid down in 1829 by Mr. W. Dampier, the then Commissioner of the Sunderbans.'

In 1829 and 1830, a map was prepared by Lt. Hodges. On this map the northern boundary of the Sunderbans was shown and it is generally the area south of this line that is commonly known as Sunderbans Area.

The tract of land known as the Sunderbans and the *churs* or islands formed since the Decennial Settlement and other 'halabad' (newly cultivated) lands, 'patitabadi' and 'jungle-burhi' taluqs were dealt with by section 3 of Reg. 2 of 1819, but all waste lands included within the ascertained boundaries of permanently settled estates were left expressly unaffected by Cl. 1, Section 31 of the Regulation.

There were lands possessed by the zamindars in excess of the area falling within their permanently settled estates and such lands are called

'taufir'. In 1828, Reg. 3 of 1828 was passed to deal specially with those 'taufir' lands and officers were appointed to look after and settle them.

New *churs* and jungle lands were declared to be the absolute property of the Government. Some portions of these lands, after settlement of rents under rules laid down by Reg. 8 of 1822, formed into permanently settled estates, but newly reclaimed large tracts are the property of Government.

II.

A very short history of the leases is given below for better grasp of the subject under review.

99-Years' Lease :—

In 1793, the whole of the Sundarban tract, was left outside the zone of Permanent Settlement. In 1825, Rules for making grants of these tracts were formally promulgated. By Regulation 3 of 1828, this uninhabited tract was declared to have ever been, and still to be, the property of the State and the Governor-General in Council was empowered to make grants, assignments or leases thereof in such manner as he may deem fit and proper. In pursuance of this Regulation, the entire area was surveyed and divided into lots, with fixed boundaries, set out in a map, prepared for the purpose, and the tract became available for grants. In 1829, applications were invited from the public to take settlements which were granted under Grant Rules of 1830, providing for (1) 20 years' revenue-free period, (2) 5 years' period for clearance of $\frac{1}{3}$ th area, (3) $\frac{1}{3}$ th to be exempted from assessment in perpetuity, (4) remaining $\frac{1}{3}$ ths to be assessed at 2 as per bigha in the 21st year, 4 as. in the 22nd, 6 as. in the 23rd, and 8 as in the 24th and the last to remain fixed in perpetuity. A large number of grants were thus leased out. But they were very often obstructed by the neighbouring zamindars in their possession. In 1841, the grantees submitted a memorial praying for modification of their terms in a more liberal direction which was rejected by the Government, and their grants had to be resumed and subsequently re-settled between 1844 to 1852. In 1852, it was found that many settlements had broken down and revenue derived from such grants had been next to nothing. The Board of Revenue, with a view to secure reclamation, recommended a reduction of the rate from 8 as. to 4 as. which was offered to the grantees but refused. The grantees proposed the following terms, viz., (1) Free period of 20 years, then 1 anna on half the area for 10 years, $1\frac{1}{2}$ anna for next 10 years and afterwards 2 as. the maximum rate, in perpetuity. Government accepted these terms with only two modifications, viz., (1) there should be progressive clearance, and (2) that the assessment of 2 as., instead of being in perpetuity, should be for 99 years, after which grants should be liable to re-assessment on moderate terms.

40-Years' Lease :—

The Sunderbans were declared to be the property of the State by

Reg. 3 of 1828 and the Governor-General was empowered by the said Regulation to grant leases of lots within it by dividing the area into lots and demarcating them by boundaries. In 1829, several lots were settled in perpetuity at progressive rate at 8 as. per bigha but clearance conditions were not fulfilled, and at last in 1853 the Government promulgated revised rules by which the land revenue demand was reduced to 2 as. per bigha for 99 years. Those revised rules having not attracted new applicants the Government of India sanctioned two proposals viz., (1) for sale of unassessed lands at Rs. 2-8-0 per acre free from any revenue demand whatsoever and (2) for redemption of the revenue of the settled lots, for ever, by paying Rs. 2-8-0 per acre, once for all, but little advantage was taken of these rules and reclamations of the Sunderbans became all the more difficult. In 1871 a committee was formed for framing rules for settlement of waste lands and those rules were published in 1871. There was little response as the terms were less favourable than in 1853. Then finally in 1879, two sets of rules were issued known respectively as the "Large Capitalist Rules" and the "Small Capitalist Rules" for leases for the cultivation of waste lands. These leases were for an initial period of 40 years.

Resumed Toufir Mahals :—

Some years after the conclusion of the Permanent Settlement of 1793, it appeared that on account of contiguity of permanently settled zamindari estates to the Sunderban tract and for want of well-defined boundaries between the two, the zamindars often laid *bona fide* claim to parts of Sunderban tract adjoining the zamindari lands and had the same partly or fully reclaimed through holdors of *talukdari*, *osattalukdari* or *howladrari* leases treating the same as within the ambit of their zamindari estates. Reg. 2 of 1819 was enacted for resuming revenue on those 'toufir' lands and a large number of resumption proceedings were started and a large number of Mahals were settled. The real object of the Resumption proceedings under the Regulation was to resume or assess revenue on the additional lands. The Rules for settlement of resumed lands are given in Regulation 7 of 1822 enacted for periodical settlement of all temporarily settled Mahals. The preamble to this Regulation declares moderate assessment to be its aim and the main provisions thereof recognise the status of the settlement-holders to be proprietors who are to be given *malikana* in recognition of their proprietary right in case of refusal to engage for the public revenue.

Diara Mahals :—

In the province of Bengal, in all districts or parts of districts of which a revenue survey may have been completed, it would be lawful to direct, at every 10 years, a new survey of lands, on the banks of rivers and on the shores of the sea; new maps have been prepared, and if lands have been gained by alluvion since the Permanent Settlement such lands under the terms of Section 3 (second) of Reg. 2 of 1818-1819 are liable to

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assessment to Government revenue and the rents of all undertenants in such lands are also liable to determination. Lands surveyed would be made a separate estate under section 1 of Act 31 of 1858. Such separate estates are commonly called Diara estates.

Rules of assessment of Diara estates are contained in Chapter XV, page 118 of "The Technical Rules and Instructions of the Settlement Department, 1916". It runs thus :—

"By section 7(2) of Regulation 7 of 1822, the maximum revenue which can be taken by Government is more than 70 p. c. When no objection had been raised against assessment, 60 p. c. is ordinarily taken. The remainder is divisible between the proprietors and the tenure-holders. In making the division regard should be had to the existing rents of the tenure-holders, which in the case of proceedings under the Regulations can only be changed if no rent or adequate rent is paid for the accretion and the Diara Officers will in accordance with section 2, Act 31 of 1858 (Bengal Alluvial Land Settlement Act) read with section 52 of section 192 of the Bengal Tenancy Act determine what rent should be paid for the accretion; but the proprietor should never be given more than 10 p. c. of the profits and if he waives his right to bring a civil suit, he may be given up to 20 p. c. In allotting the remainder, where there are several grades of tenure-holders, an amount which may vary according to special circumstances of each case but should ordinarily be 10 p. c., should first be given to the tenure-holders immediately above the cultivating raiyats. The rest should be divided among the remaining tenure-holders in proportion to the gross profits derived by each from the estate in question."

"A Khas Mahal is an estate held by Government standing in the place of the proprietor".—Field's "Regulations of the Bengal Code" (1875), page 41. Waste lands not included within the area of any permanent settlement, islands thrown up in large navigable rivers, resumed revenue-free lands, and settled estates which have lapsed by sale for arrears or escheat are included within the definition of a Khas Mahal. In the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, Government Khas Mahals are "estates" and Government is a "proprietor" owning estates, The Government is also a "landlord" like other landholders.—S. C. Mitra's Tagore Lectures on Land Laws of Bengal, Lecture II.

Khas Mahals may be conveniently divided into 4 classes, viz., (1) Waste lands brought under cultivation since Permanent Settlement. (2) Lands not permanently or temporarily settled, including resumed revenue-free lands, lapsed and forfeited estates and island Churs. (3) Temporarily settled estates including Orissa and the Sunderbans, and (4) Forest lands i. e., Government reserved forests.

III.

We shall now give a catalogue of those Regulations, enactments

and Rules which have been applicable to the leases and lands detailed above for the purpose of assessment and resettlement of land revenue.

(1) 1819—Reg. 2—The Bengal Land Revenue Assessment (Resumed Lands) Reg. It applies to all lands included in 'unsettled mahals' and not included in

- (i) Decennial Settlement and then Permanent Settlement,
- (ii) Lands held free of assessment as under Reg. 19 and 37 of 1793 (see above).

(2) 1822—Reg. 7—The Bengal Land Revenue Settlement Reg. This Reg., as originally passed did not extend to any part of Bengal Presidency, as now constituted, except the Pargana of Pataspur and its dependencies.

But it has since been applied to—

- (i) settlements made under the Bengal Alluvial Lands Settlement Act (Act 31 of 1858).
- (ii) estates in any part of which a measurement, survey or local enquiry is made under Bengal Land Revenue Sales Act (Act 11 of 1859) and estates purchased or taken on account of Government under that Act.
- (iii) all lands not included in the Bengal Decennial Settlement Reg. (Reg. 8 of 1793).
- (iv) all estates held Khas.
- (v) the Sunderbans, and
- (vi) certain forests and wastes, and all estates bordering thereon.

(3) 1825—Reg. 9—The Bengal Land Revenue Settlement Reg. A Reg. for extending the operation of Reg. 7 of 1822 to farm estates under temporary leases on default of the *malguzars* or to hold them Khas for a term of years and for modifying and adding to Rules contained in Reg. 2 of 1819, etc.

It applies to

- (i) estates dealt with under Reg. 11 of 1859.
- (ii) Do under Reg. 7 of 1822.
- (iii) Do under Reg. 2 of 1819.

(4) 1825—Reg. 11. The Bengal Alluvion and Diluvion Reg.

(5) 1828—Reg. 3. The Bengal Land-Revenue Assessment (Resumed Lands) Reg.—a Reg. for more effectually securing the realisation of the public dues.

(6) 1847—Act 9. The Bengal Alluvion and Diluvion Act—an Act regarding the assessment of lands gained from the sea or from rivers by alluvion or dereliction within the Province of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

(7) 1858—Act 31. The Bengal Alluvial Land Settlement Act—an Act to make further provision for settlement of land gained by alluvion in Bengal.

(8) Indian Land Revenue Policy, 1902. A resolution of the Government of India regarding revenue assessment during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon.

(9) The Bengal Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917. Part 3, Chap. I—VIII, pp. 115-129.

(10) Technical Rules and Instructions of the Settlement Department, 1916. Reprinted in 1928, Chap. XV Diara.

IV.

Within the large Sunderban tract lying outside the permanently settled area there are, no doubt, certain Mahals the revenues of which are settled in perpetuity under Rules of 1853. But the major portions of the Sunderban area are temporarily settled. The settlement holders have heritable and transferable rights and are called Sunderbans Talukdars. Their revenues are periodically revised. They have been holding the Mahals for a long time, some of them, for about a century. They have reclaimed jungles and by their labour and money the Mahals have been brought under cultivation and have now been completely reclaimed without any help from the State.

In pursuance of Reg. III of 1828 Grant Rules of 1830 were made, which proving stringent, the Grantees in 1841, memorialised the Government for modification of the Rules in a more liberal direction. Though modifications were made in 1852, some 40 Grantees again petitioned the Board of Revenue stating that unless more liberal terms were accorded, the general clearance of the Sunderbans in the face of extraordinary cost, labour and risk involved, could not be effected. Then the Government accepting the suggestions of the Grantees remarked, in a circular in 1853, that the principal object of Government in devising the Rules of 1853 was reclamation of the Sunderbans and the improvement of the revenue was of secondary and altogether subordinate interest.

These Grantees or settlement-holders, in good old days, were considered very useful elements as, without them, Government could not have reclaimed the Sunderban jungles and realised decent revenue from these dense jungly tracts. Now-a-days these persons are looked upon as interlopers in Government Estates. The Revenue Department of Government is trying by indirect means to get rid of these men.

In the recent Revenue Settlements in Khulna and 24 Parganas their profits are being heavily curtailed by reducing the percentages hitherto allowed to them. Some of them have been forced to give up the Mahals as losing concerns. Some have fought and have been still fighting for maintaining their old percentages by instituting suits in Civil Courts.

Besides over-assessment of revenue, the revenue authorities are doing injustice in various other ways, viz., by reducing or disallowing *bund* and embankment charges and altering terms of contracts or leases hitherto held, without express consent of the lessees.

I cannot help pointing out another very serious grievance of the holders of Resumed *Mahals* in the Sunderbans. The real object of the resumption proceedings during 1828-36 was to resume or assess revenue on the additional lands admitting the proprietary right of the zamindar and not to eject them or resume Khas possession of their lands.

The history of the Resumed *Mahals* will clearly show that when settlements were made with the encroaching zamindar he was given a Talukdari *Patta*, and on his recusancy the *Mahal* was settled with the permanent Osattalukdars or other permanent tenure-holders under him, who had been in possession of the *Mahal* before the resumption, in Osataluki or some such right. In some cases, *Mahals* were settled with pure outsiders as permanent lease-holders liable to periodical enhancement of revenue. There was distinct order of Government to the effect that, "Sunderban *Mahals* when settled with *Abadkaris* or other parties entitled to settlement" should be dealt with as the property of individuals.

Parties in actual possession i. e., the encroaching zamindar or his subordinate talukdars were entitled to settlement (*vide* Pargitars' Revenue History of the Sunderbans, para. 243). The result of the decisions in the Resumption proceedings by Court of Directors was that the party in possession was ordinarily to be recognised as the proprietor and was therefore entitled to *Malikana* if recusant (*vide* para 195). Their names have been always borne in Register A kept under Bengal Land Registration Act (Act VII of 1876) and devolutions of their interests have been entered in Register D kept under the said Act. They are "proprietors" within the meaning of Section 3 of Bengal Tenancy Act. They are also proprietors in the sense of holders of substantial interest (heritable and permanent) within the meaning of the Privy Council decision reported in I. L. R. 52 Cal. 418 at page 444. The holders of these *Mahals* have been recognised as Proprietors in the Bengal Settlement Manual (1917) page 116.

Attempts have been recently made to wrongly reduce the position of the proprietors of the Resumed *Mahals* to that of tenure-holders under Government and their names are being wrongly removed from Register A of Act VIII of 1876 to Khas Mahal Register of tenures. Attempts have also been made to record their status as tenure-holders in the record-of-rights recently prepared under Chap. X of the B. T. Act and to change the terms and conditions of their engagement by introducing new forms of leases without their consent and unwarranted by sec. 104 of the said Act. These are all instances of Executive high-handedness in the absence of definite legislative enactment.

V.

The readers will now see that there are really no definite enactments

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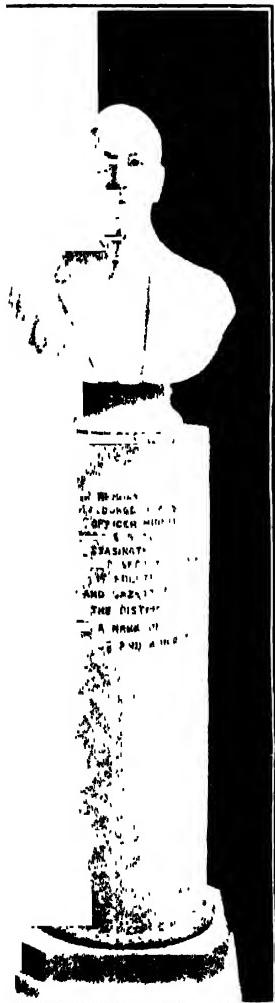


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on the Statute Book for the assessment of land revenue on these lands which are outside the zone of Permanent Settlement of 1793. The Joint Select Committee of the Houses of Parliament on Indian Constitutional Reforms recommended in their report that "the Committee are impressed by the objection raised by many witnesses to the manner in which certain classes of taxation can be laid upon the people of India by Executive action without, in some cases, any adequate prescription by Statute of the methods of assessment. They consider that the imposition of new burdens should be gradually more within the purview of the Legislature and in particular... they advise that the process of revising the land revenue assessment ought to be brought under closer regulation by Statute as soon as possible. At present the Statutory basis for changing revenue on the land varies in different provinces, but in some at least, the pitch of assessment is entirely at the discretion of the Executive Government. The Committee are of opinion that the time has come to embody in the law the main principles by which the land-revenue is determined, the methods of valuation, the pitch of assessment, the periods of revision, the graduations of enhancements, and the other chief processes which touch the well-being of the revenue-payers".

There is no definite legislative enactment excepting the rusty, antiquated and imperfectly understood Regulations for regulating the process of revising assessments, and fixation of the terms of settlement are regulated by rules, issued from time to time, by the Executive Government. These rules are now contained in the Bengal Survey and Settlement Manuals, issued by the Executive Government in its Revenue Department, from time to time.

The revenue of the permanently settled area in this province is fixed for ever and no question of any legislation arises regarding that. There is, however, a vast area including the Sunderban tract, of which the revenue is temporarily fixed, and at the time of the periodical assessment of its revenue the question arises in what proportion the total assets are to be divided between the settlement-holders and the Government.

Towards the end of the last century, in their attempts to trace out the reasons for the recurrence of a series of severe famines, Mr. R. C. Dutt and certain other retired officers of the Indian Civil Service came to certain conclusions, the purport of which was that the intensity and frequency of the famines were largely due to the impoverishment of the people caused by over-assessment. The Government of Lord Curzon took up the cudgels in support of the existing revenue policy and undertook a detailed and exhaustive enquiry into the system of land revenue assessment in all the provinces with special reference to their economic effects upon the condition of the people.

His Excellency called for reports from all the Provincial Governments and on receipt of their reports, the conclusions arrived at by him were

summarised in a Resolution, issued in the form of a book called "Land Revenue Policy of the Indian Government."

The summary of the policy is given at page 38 of the book, a portion of which runs as follows :—

"That in areas where the State receives its land revenue from landlords, progressive moderation is the key-note of the policy of Government, and the standard of 50 p. c. of the assets is one which is almost uniformly observed in practice and is more often departed from on the side of deficiency than of excess. That the policy of long term settlements is gradually being extended, the exception being justified by condition of local development." etc.

It will not be out of place to quote an important passage from the report submitted at that time by the Government of Bengal regarding the question of over-assessment in Bengal which runs thus :

"where the revenue is paid by landlords in the temporary-settled areas, 50 p. c. of their assets may be fixed as the maximum Government demand. The Lieutenant-Governor believes that this is now a very general rule and he has no doubt that the variations from it will be fewer and fewer. It is a good general rule. The minimum term of settlement in temporarily settled areas shall be 30 years." (*Vide* pages 61 and 62 of the Revenue Policy).

The Government of Bengal adopted this policy as they were bound to do and in the Bengal Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917, Part 3, Chap. I, laid down, by way of preliminary instructions for settlement of land revenue, that "the general principles to be followed in such settlements are set forth in the scheme published by the Government of India, entitled 'Indian Land Revenue Policy'. These principles should be studied by every officer entrusted with the settlement of land-revenue."

The announcement of the policy as laid down above is very distinct, clear and unambiguous, viz., that the proportion in which the assets of a Mahal are to be divided between the settlement-holder and the State, is half and half. In other words, the limit of revenue assessment of a Mahal should not exceed half of the total assets but it may be even less than half.

In practice, however, Government take 70 to 80 p. c. of the assets as revenue, and allow only 20 to 30 p. c. to the settlement-holders. In one part of the Bengal Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917, instructions have been laid down for the guidance of the Settlement Officers by following the revenue policy of Lord Curzon, i. e., the 50 p.c. rule; but in another part of the same manual contradictory and different instructions have been given for settling revenue of temporarily settled estates at 70 to 80 per cent of the assets by laying down that in exceptional cases only the percentage may be increased to 50 p. c. by the Bengal Board of Revenue or the Local Government (*Vide* page 121 of the Bengal Survey and Settlement Manual, 1917).

The Executive Government in order to meet its ever-growing demands and financial burdens, is naturally interested in gradually raising the amount of revenue even in violation of its own express revenue policy. This was the very reason for which the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee strongly recommended early legislation on this most vitally important subject in all Legislatures.

According to the recommendations of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee, Revenue Bills were introduced in the Legislative Councils of Madras, Bombay, the Punjab and Assam in 1925, and in the Councils of U.P. and C. P. in 1927. They have by this time found place in the Statute Book. As regards other provinces in reference to Dr. Rama Rau's resolution dated the 12th September, 1928, in the Council of State pressing for the re-introduction of provincial Revenue Bills, Sir Muhammad Habibullah, on behalf of the Government, pointed out that land revenue being a provincial reserved subject, the utmost he could do was to draw the attention of the Local Governments on the subject, and ask them to give effect to the recommendations of the Parliamentary Joint Committee. He further said that Government of India drew the attention of the Provincial Governments first in 1920, then again in 1923 and assured the mover that the Local Governments would again be addressed on the subject of land revenue and hoped that his initiative on this occasion might contribute to the solution of the matter. In spite of such assurances on the part of the Government of India, unfortunately, the Government of Bengal do not appear to have taken any steps, up till now, for giving effect to the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee.

VI.

THE SUNDERBAN LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION.

In the course of the last cadastral survey and preparation of Record of Rights in the District of Khulna, the then Settlement Officer, Mr. Fawcett, had to settle the revenue of 139 Sunderban Mahals or temporary settled estates, which then were open to re-settlement on the expiry of the term of their leases. In respect of many of them he increased the Government revenue by substantially reducing the percentage of collection charges and profits hitherto allowed to the settlement-holders and their subordinate tenure-holders, at the last settlement, by increasing raiyati assets, as well as by withholding or reducing embankment allowances. The writer was one of the aggrieved landlords of the district of Khulna. He gave a tough fight to the Government, challenged their land revenue policy and raised many intricate questions of law and facts. He fought a number of his own cases up to the Board of Revenue, on the ground that he was allowed only 20 p. c. of the assets of a Mahal, as commission, along with his subordinate tenure-holders, and that the Government demand was pitched as high as 80 p. c. of the total assets. This sort of hard assessment left not a farthing of profit to the settlement-holders; on the other hand Government enhanced their demand by

snatching away a lion's share from the hard-earned profits of the Grantees. As a result of litigation up to the Board of Revenue the writer got only 35 p. c. of the assets as commission but he had been hitherto enjoying more than 55 p. c. This sudden decrease in the profits hit hard all the settlement-holders of the Khulna district and they hastened to form a provisional association of Khulna landholders at whose instance a deputation from the Bengal Landholders' Association waited on the Hon'ble Revenue Member on the 14th December, 1925, to put before him the grievances of the over-assessed settlement-holders. The deputation had its desired effect and at the recommendations of the Hon'ble Member the percentages of profits of some of the aggrieved settlement-holders whose appeals were then pending before the Director of Land Records, were increased, though they were far below the maximum allowed at the preceding settlements.

Thereafter the writer felt in his heart of hearts the necessity and urgency of immediate legislation on the subject of land revenue which is one of the most heavy burdens on the shoulders of the landholders and also the principal source of public income. With this view in mind, the writer saw a large number of leading landholders of Calcutta, who own and possess a large number of Sunderban Grants. They had also been suffering a great deal under various disadvantages and genuine grievances and could not find a way out of these difficulties. The writer then suggested to many leading zamindars the need of the formation of an association of Sunderban zamindars at Calcutta to enable them to take concerted action on vital matters affecting the interests of landholders holding Grants and Leases in the Sunderbans and their tenants. Thanks to the zeal and untiring energy of some leading zamindars of Calcutta an association called "The Sunderban Landholders' Association" was formed in October, 1929, with Mr. H. F. Bremner as President and Mr. Amulyadhon Addy, as Secretary. During the period 1930-32 this Association submitted several memorials to the Hon'ble the Revenue Member, in connection with redress of many genuine grievances of 99-years', 40-years' Grantees and holders of Resumed Mahals; and the Government, in considering some memorials granted the leaseholders substantial reliefs. But experience tells us that only memorialising and petitioning could pacify some only of the large number of landholders and tenants who hold such temporary leaseholds in the Sunderbans. I, therefore, draw the earnest attention of the legislators and landholders to carry on an intense agitation for adding to the Statute Book a "Bengal Land Revenue Settlement Act". The writer drafted such a Bill which, with certain modifications, was adopted in a meeting of the Sunderban Landholders' Association.

VII.

Though strenuous endeavours have been made by the Association to impress on the Government the necessity of placing on the Statute

Book a piece of legislation as a companion to the Bengal Tenancy Act as recently modified and revised, yet Government or as a matter of fact, any individual member of the provincial legislature, has not yet taken up the task. The area of non-permanent settlement, in Bengal, is not inconsiderable and the population affected is very large. It is certainly a great anomaly that while legislation has been effected in all other provinces with regard to this vitally important matter Bengal is allowed to lag behind. I, therefore, invite pointed attention to the vaunted dictum of Lord Curzon and the recommendations of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on the subject. It is now up to our provincial Government and legislature to take up this subject for immediate legislation for removing the uncertainties and hardships of frequent assessment. It really affects the actual cultivators much more than the proprietors or settlement-holders and the middlemen who may be concerned. Further, it is a matter for sound State policy to bring all the provinces into a line on a matter affecting the tenantry of India, which is pre-eminently an agricultural country. Increase in land revenue should not be the sole guiding principle in dealing with the tillers of the soil whose interests the Government protest too much to guard as "trustees". Upon a matter like this, we hope and trust, all parties in the legislature should agree and proceed to pass a small Act, without a division, at one sitting. We invite the particular attention of the Hon'ble Member-in-charge of the Revenue Department to remove the gap in legislation by introducing a short Bill at once.

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The Real Indian Problem

BY L. N. SARIN, B. A.

WHAT is the real Indian problem awaiting immediate solution ? It is very probable that Pandit Malavya would say that it is the rejection of the *Communal Award*. It is equally probable that other Congress leaders would say that it is the recast of the proposals of the White Paper in accordance with their own impracticable schemes as enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi at the Second Round Table Conference. The moderates might well say that the solution to real Indian problem lies in working the new reforms as propounded by His Majesty's Government. *But the truth of the matter is that the Indian problem is preeminently economic rather than political in character and in the words of Sir Malcolm Hailey it needs a treatment by remedies which are not to be found in the pharmacopoeia of politics.*

WRONG END OF THE STICK

Both the Government and the Indian Nationalists have caught the stick at the wrong end by subordinating the grave economic issues to empty political slogans. What does an under-fed India that is badly clothed and housed care for the liberation of her constitution ? A famished people with grinding poverty staring them in the face cannot be elated at the amplification of the proposals of the White Paper. With characteristic sagacity did Baron M. Saito Governor-General of Korea once say that "*The economic development of the country must come first ; education and the raising of the standards of the people will follow. Afterwards political development may be possible.*" The order has unfortunately been reversed in India—thanks largely to the activities of the political agitators of the country who have generally argued that the Swaraj or Independence party will perform a useful function in destroying the existing antiquated and rigid administrative structure and will thus make it possible to erect a better social organisation on the ruins. "Pandit Jahar Lal—the high priest of Socialism has persistently advocated the same view, and unreservedly drawn his inspiration from chaotic Moscow. Neither they nor he appears to have been well informed to see that while destruction is relatively easy, the elimination of economic evils is a difficult and toilsome process which does not require revolutionary instincts but technical training, administrative experience and enormous sums of money, all of which they are totally unable to furnish and which the British alone can provide."

PROBABLE SOLUTION

British rule has amply justified itself in the past by substituting safety for life and property for the sanguinary chaos and galling insecurity which was rampant after the Downfall of the Moghal Empire. But it is not enough for the future and "if the British supremacy is to endure it must also provide continuous improvement in the economic condition of the submerged elements of the population". It might here well be said that the Government have done much in this field and intend doing more in future but there is no escape from the fact that there has not been a display of promptness in the direction and their programmes have not been "Sufficiently definite and adequate." Nor have Indian Nationalists made an intelligent grasp of the real economic problem of the country. M. Gandhi takes an absolutely mistaken view of the situation when he requests his adherents to patronise Khaddar only and to refuse to buy imported cloth — especially of British origin. 'He is trying to defeat the operation of an economic law by appealing to sentiment.' That would not be successful in the long run. A Delhi Bazaar cloth dealer is reported to have said in utter disgust that 'Patriotism for Gandhi's Khaddar is not worth a penny' meaning thereby that the buyers would not pay a penny a yard more for Khaddar over the British cloth.

The economic salvation of India cannot be achieved by Ranchi plans and Wardah Schemes. Could it be achieved by the activities of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and either by the elaboration or the whittling down of the White Paper proposals ? The reply has got be an emphatic 'No'—however unpalatable it may sound to the politicals of either country. In brief it depends upon the "investment of considerable amounts of capital to introduce cheap transportation and modern methods for the development of the agricultural and mineral resources of the country—including both large scale production and improved process of manufacturing at low cost a large variety of articles which can be made and used profitably in the country." Part of the funds should be farnished by Indian investors but much must come from London, but British capitalists cannot be expected to invest any money unless they are assured that their money would be safe in India. To that end it is essential that the talk of severence of British connections with India must cease once for all. It is an admitted fact that few Indians—though their number is ever on the increase—have the technical and administrative training to conduct large enterprises and unless a whole generation is trained British supervision would be both essential and useful.

CONCLUSIONS

The Indian nationalists must give up their cherished hobby of terminating the British connections and instead of wasting their energies in idle pursuits draw a leaf out of Gokhale's book and try to raise the Indian masses by their economic and intellectual betterment. "I sometimes wonder"

very truly said E. Bevan, "whether an Indian who has spent his life in political agitation, when he is at the end of it all and looks back over past years, will feel that it has all been quite worth while. He will see a vista of enthusiastic meetings, of crowds swaying in excitement ; he will remember the many occasions when, as he stood to speak, the words surged up within him as a flood, when he saw their effect in the eyes and gestures of the thousands listening ; the noise of their applause will be again in his ears ; he will see himself over and over again, surrounded, led in procession, garlanded. And yet it may be difficult to think of any one of his fellow-countrymen who, as the result of all that, is healthier, anyone who is better provided for, anyone who is better educated." British Government in its own turn should justify its continued existence by providing something for the Indians which they cannot acquire without their assistance. A perfectly clear and detailed programme should be adopted and its advantages made clear to the masses whose loyalty for the British Raj is bound to be stimulated by "improvements in their health and happiness."

The Government which stand for the material and moral advancement of the country and are pledged to the establishment of full responsible Government should know that for the achievement of their aims politics alone are not enough. Measures must be taken for an increase of solid good in the life of the people and the work of making the masses healthier, better furnished with the means of life, must be set about at once in supersession to their work that had been in progress in London for the last three years. All this may sound silly to some of the readers of this article but in all humility I feel that I have struck a true note which one could deny but not disprove.

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Mineral Wealth of India and its Development

BY NARENDRA SINGH SINGHI, M.Sc.

INDIA has been known to be very rich in minerals and precious stones from ancient times. Gold was produced in India several centuries ago. Some of the biggest diamonds, for the last of which India had been subjected to repeated foreign invasions, were obtained from the diamond-bearing rocks of South India. India had also taken to the metallurgy of iron a few centuries back. The skill and efficiency with which this industry was managed and the excellent quality of iron that was produced

could be judged from the quality of the iron in the Iron Pillar at Delhi which is withstanding the ravages of nature wonderfully. Extraction of other metals such as copper, lead and silver were also known to them. Definite evidence to the above statement can be obtained from the occurrences of old slag lying over the ore deposits in different parts of the country. Though the attainments in some cases were of high order, the methods adopted in almost all cases were primitive and indigenous and the extractions were carried out on a small scale. In these days of modern civilisation we have to adopt up-to-date, improved methods and everything should be carried on on a large commercial scale in order that we

Mr. Narendra Singh Singhi, M Sc



may compete with foreign countries in the open market. It may be said here that India being possessed of huge mineral wealth and of favourable conditions, the development of her mineral industry can be attained with ease and profit. This attainment would mean not only an annual saving for India of crores and crore of rupees but the opening of an avenue for the employment of millions of unemployed reckless youths of the country, specially those of Bengal.

Detailed statistics given by the India Government publications will show how very much gifted India is with respect to minerals and precious stones. The paragraphs given below contain a brief account of the more important minerals, occurring in different parts of India, which demand immediate attention of the financier and the technical experts for their exploitation and proper development.

GOLD

India has proverbially been known as the land of gold. This is due to the fact that nature has very generously distributed gold in her rocks. At present she occupies the eighth position amongst the leading gold producing countries.

The Kolar goldfields in Mysore and Huttı gold mines of Hyderabad are the chief producers of gold in India at present. In these goldfields gold occurs in quartz veins. In the Singhbhum district gold is found in the quartz veins associated with copper lodes. Two or three companies are at present working on a smaller scale to extract gold from some of these deposits. From the nature and extent of the deposit so far ascertained, it can safely be asserted that there is an ample scope for further expansion of this industry in that region.

Gold is also extracted in other parts of India from the sands of rivers such as the Subarnarekha in Singhbhum, the Irawady in Burma and Su-bansri in Assam. The villagers on the banks of these rivers have been collecting, from very old times, gold particles by the simple processes of pawning and washing. It may be stated with reference to the sands of these rivers that with the installation of modern pawning and washing machines of simple types, one can expect a good return.

COPPER

There is plenty of scope for the development of the copper industry in India to meet her own demands. In the past South India and Rajputana were the two principal copper manufacturing centres in India. The rich copper deposit of Singhbhum in Bihar and Orissa is the most important one that is being worked at present. Darjeeling, Sikkim, Ilazaribagh, Northern Shan States, Nellore, Mysore, Rajputana and Nepal also contain workable deposits of copper.

As the extraction of copper entails considerable capital expenditure, an attempt should be made to float substantial joint stock companies for working out some of the suitable deposits.

IRON

There is an ample field in India for the metallurgy of iron and steel, as will be evident from the fact that India is importing iron and steel products to the extent of fifty crores of rupees.

There are vast deposits of iron ores in the Mayurbhanj State, in

Kolhan, Noamundi in Singhbhum, Keonjhar and Bonai States, also in the Drug, Chanda and Jubbulpore districts in Central Provinces, in the Mysore State and in Hyderabad. There is also a fair quantity of good metallurgical coke in this country in close proximity to the iron ore deposits. Though there are the Tata's Iron and Steel factory at Jamshedpur and other factories at Bhadravati (Mysore) and Asansol, the production of iron is not sufficient to meet the local demands. Enterprises ought to be launched for smelting iron and producing steel so that India becomes self-supporting in these respects.

MANGANESE

Manganese industry in India is of recent origin. Manganese ores occur at the following localities :—Gangpur, Keonjhar, Singhbhum in Bihar and Orissa, Panch Mahals, Chhota Udepur, North Kanara and Ratnagiri in Bombay, Jhabua in Central India, Balaghat, Bhandara, Chhindwara, Nagpur and Jubbulpore in Central Provinces, Vizagapatam, Bellary and Sandur in Madras and Chitaldrug, Kadur, Shimoga and Tumkur in Mysore.

This industry has a bright future before it. With the development of the industry there will be a greater demand for this mineral which will then be able to fetch better prices.

SILVER, LEAD AND ZINC

India is the largest silver importing country in the world, the net imports of the metal amount to about 17 crores of rupees. Silver is obtained as a by-product in the manufacture of lead from argentiferous galena of Bawdwin mines and from gold deposits of South India.

Most of the lead is obtained from the Bawdwin mines. Small quantities of this material is obtained from the Southern Shan States and Yamethin district in Burma, Panjori in Jaipur State and Chandun in Bihar.

Zinc ores occur associated with the argentiferous galena deposits of Bawdwin mines.

MONAZITE

Monazite is largely used in the extraction of rare earths especially thorium oxide which is used in the manufacture of gas mantles. The chief localities where monazite is found are Travancore, Tinnevelly district, east of Cape Comorin, Waltair, Mysore and Gaya district in Bihar. Monazite sand is exported to foreign countries from the coasts of Travancore and Cochin at present.

COAL

Coal is the master-key to the industrial development of a country. Leaving aside at present the possibility of producing electricity from sun's rays and petrol from sea water, coal and petroleum are the only two motive powers to drive the engines. The total coal reserve of India,

as far as it has been ascertained, at present stands at about 50 thousand million tons. Below is given a short list of the more important coalfields in India :—Raniganj, Jharia, Bokaro, Ramgarh, Karanpura, Auranga, Hutar, Daltongunge and Talcher in Bihar and Orissa, Umaria, Sohagpur in Central India, Korea, Mohpani, Pench Valley and Ballarpur in Central Provinces, Singareni in Hyderabad (Deccan) Abor, Daphla, Makum and Cherapunji in Assam. The Punjab, Rajputana and Burma have also coalfields.

The years 1919-1921 constituted an important period so far as the coal industry is concerned. It was in those days that coal used to sell at fairly high prices. But since then there has been a slump in the trade due to overproduction. The position can be improved by restricting the production and also by finding out new ways for the consumption and better utilisation of coal. Coal, when subjected to different scientific treatments such as low and high temperature carbonisation, yields a variety of valuable by-products such as benzol, ammonium sulphate, tar and gas, etc.

Field for the low temperature carbonisation industry in this country is large and remains still unexplored.

PETROLEUM

Petroleum occurs in three localities in India, namely Burma, Upper Assam and the Punjab. The following are the important oilfields :—Upper Chhindwin, Yenangyat, Singu, Yenangyaung, Theyetmyo, Minbu, Minhla, and Arakan coast in Burma, Digboi and Lakhimpur in Assam, Khaur in the Punjab. At present petroleum is being raised by two big companies, namely, the Burma Oil Company in Burma and Assam and the Attock Oil Company in the Punjab.

MICA

The chief mica producing areas are in the districts of Gaya, Hazaribagh and Monghyr in Bihar and in Nellore in Madras. Mica is also produced in Travancore, Mysore and Ajmer.

At present mica that is produced here is wholly exported to foreign countries. Enterprising capitalists would do better to manufacture finished products in this country in stead of exporting the raw material.

GEM STONES

India was noted for high class of diamonds in the past. The production at present is insignificant but stones of considerable value are met with in the districts of Cuddapah, Anantapur, Bellary, Karnool, Kistna, Godavari, Sambalpur and Chanda.

Vindhyan conglomerates near Panna in Central India form the most important deposit. Besides these, diamond is found in Charkari, Bijawar, Ajaigarh, Kothi, Pathar, Kachhar, Baraunda and Chobepur States.

Rubies and Sapphires are obtained from the Mogok Stone Tract in Burma. Some sapphires are also found in Kashmir.

ASBESTOS

Asbestos occurs in the Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, Coimbatore, Nilgiri and Salem districts in the Madras Presidency, in the Seraikela State in Bihar and Orissa, in the Belgaum district and Idar State in Bombay, in the Sagaing district in Burma, in the Alirajpur, Jhabua and Jobat states in Central India Agency, in the Bhandara, Narsinghpur and Saugor districts of Central Provinces, in the Mysore and Kashmir States and in Baluchistan. The extraction of this mineral is easy and requires small capital.

BARYTES

Barytes is known to occur in the Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, Nellore, North Arcot and Tinnevelly districts and Bangalore State in Madras, Bamra and Gangpur States and Gaya, Manbhumi, Ranchi and Singhbhum districts in Behar and Orissa, Amherst, Kyaukse, Mandalay districts and Northern and Southern States in Burma, Indore, Orchha and Rewa States in Central India Agency, Jubbulpore and Yeotmal districts in Central Provinces, Shahpur district and the Simla states in the Punjab, in Ajmer-Merwara, Alwar and Bikaner states in Rajputana, in Baluchistan and in the Kashmir State.

Barytes is largely used in paints, for lithophone and for barium chemicals. The extraction of this mineral can profitably be undertaken with no great capital.

BAUXITE

The more important localities where bauxite occurs are :—Katni and Balaghat district in Central Provinces, Belgaum district and Khaira and Kolhapur State in Bombay Presidency, South Rewa in Central India, Ranchi district in Bihar and Orissa and in the Jammu and Kashmir State.

Bauxite is largely used in the manufacture of aluminium. At present active mining on a small scale is in progress at Katni and at Khaira wherefrom raw bauxite is exported to foreign countries. The extraction of the metal aluminium is possible in this country if sufficient capital is forthcoming.

BUILDING MATERIALS

Marble occurs in several localities in India. Marble of excellent quality is found in Rajputana—the best known occurrences are at Mekrana in Jodhpur, Kharwa in Ajmer and in Alwar, Jaipur and Kishengarh. White marble is also found near Jubbulpore.

Various igneous rocks—the charnockites and the granite gneisses of North Arcot are largely to be used as building material.

Slates and limestones from the Cuddapah series and the basalt from the Rajmahal and Deccan traps can be quarried with profit.

Vindhyan sandstones and limestones from Central India, Central Provinces and United Provinces can be utilised as a building material. Mention may be made of the excellent quality of the sandstones of Chunar and Mirzapur in U. P. In the Narbada valley limestones from Bagh beds can be used as an ornamental building stone.

Laterite, which is widely distributed, is one of the most valuable building material possessed by the country.

Cement is now largely used as a building material. There is plenty of raw material in the shape of shale and limestone in the Son Valley as well as in Central Provinces for the manufacture of Portland Cement.

REFRACTORY MATERIALS

Chronite is found to occur in Baluchistan, in Mysore, in the Singhbhum district of Bihar and Orissa, near Salem in Madras. Salem district of Madras and parts of Mysore State contain workable deposits of Magnesite.

In India Kyamite occurs mainly in the Singhbhum district and Sillimanite in Nongstoin State, Assam and at Pipra in Rewa State. Raw materials for the smaller industries such as the Glass and the Pottery, are widely distributed all over India. What is needed is the brain of the technical experts and the purse of the capitalists.



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Rai Bahadur Lala Anand Swarup, M. L. C., Muzaffarnagar, U. P.

RAI Bahadur Lala Anand Swarup, M. L. C., belongs to the Vaish Agarwala community of Muzaffarnagar, U. P.

His father the Hon'ble Rai Nihal Chand Bahadur, was well-known in India by the meritorious services he rendered to the Government and the public in various capacities. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Hemp Drugs, and as such toured throughout India. He organised the U. P. Zamindars' Association, Muzaffarnagar, in 1896, to protect the interests of the zamindars of his province. In 1909, when the Agra Tenancy Act was introduced in these provinces at the time of Sir Anthony Macdonnel, Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, he did signal service to the zamindar community. He was a member of the U. P. Legislative Council from 1890 till his death in 1909.

He had three sons, Lala Sukhbir Sinha, Seth Lachman Swarup and Lala Anand Swarup. The Hon'ble Lala Sukhbir Sinha followed in the footsteps of his father, and after handing over the management of the estate to Lala Anand Swarup, took to public life. He became a member of the U. P. Legislative Council in 1909 and later of the Council of State in 1920, and continued as such till his death. He had several acts of public utility to his credit. He developed, and suffered for a time from, heart trouble, and the same was the cause of his death in November 1927.

Seth Lachman Swarup obtained his B. A. degree from the Agra College. He became a Deputy Collector and after a long period of distinguished service retired in 1924. He died in 1925.

Lala Anand Swarup, who had been born in November 1882, studied up to the F. A. standard at the Meerut College. He had to discontinue further studies owing to the death of his mother. He worked as his father's Secretary for several years and gained experience of public work. Apart from this, Rai Bahadur Lala Nihal Chand engaged private teachers for his English and Urdu education and he took the best advantage of them. Soon after the death of his father in 1909, he was entrusted with the management of his estate, which he carried on very ably. In a short time, he made many improvements in the estate, and almost doubled its income. During the Great War, he helped the Government by supplying recruits and money. He also supplied lakhs of blankets and jhuls for the military and its horses.

He continued to manage of the estate till his brother's death in 1927, but throughout this period, he was also the Joint Secretary and Treasurer of the U. P. Zamindars' Association, Muzaffarnagrr. He was nominated a member of the Governing Body, Agricultural College, Cawnpur, in 1925 and acted in that capacity for two terms. He suggested many improvements for the upkeep and better superintendence of hostels. He became a member of the Board of Agriculture, U. P., in 1928, where he moved several resolutions for the betterment of the agricultural community and the improvement of orchards. He urged the Government to arrange for the training of good *malis* in the Government orchards, and to reduce the water rates for irrigating orchards and the hydro-electric charges for lifting water for the same purpose from 18 pies to 12 pies per unit. Fortunately, all his requests were acceded to and their benefits are now derived by both the zamindars and the orchardists. The same year he was nominated to the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, Allahabad, to represent agricultural interests. He was successful in persuading the Government to open agricultural classes in all the High Schools of the province. He is still continuing as a member of this Board. He was made a Rai Sahib by the declaration of Birth Day Honours in 1930 and was elected unopposed as a member of the U. P. Legislative Council in 1930 from the Landholders' Constituency, North Circle.

He moved a number of resolutions in the Council during the last three years, the important ones being in regard to the reduction of canal rates, the suspension of periodical enhancement of land revenue, and remission in land revenue in proportion to the remission in rents as laid down in the Act, and lent his weighty support to several resolutions in the interest of the zamindars and tenants.

In view of the slump in prices of agricultural products, he moved that the canal rates be reduced by "one half" last year and emphasised upon the Government the deplorable condition of the tenants and the hardships caused to them by the collecting Amins and the superfluous expenditure in the Irrigation Department. An amendment was moved that instead of the words "one half" the words "one-third" be substituted. This was accepted and supported by all sections of the House and the resolution was passed unanimously. But unfortunately, the Government have not so far seen their way to take action on it.

In 1931 he was elected to represent the U. P. Council on the Board of Irrigation for three years. Several resolutions for the welfare of the cultivators and better supply of water were moved by him and adopted by the Council. The Government set up a Rent and Revenue Committee in 1931, to which he was appointed a member. This committee decided in favour of remissions in rent and revenue. He agreed to a liberal remission in rents and then insisted upon the Government to allow proportionate remissions in the land revenue. This question was further raised in the Council several times by him. In 1932, he became a member of the Committee to investigate into the causes and extent of agricultural

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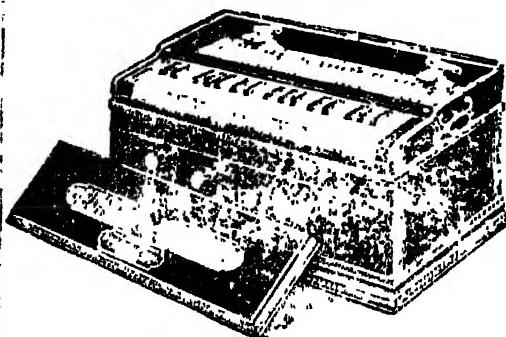
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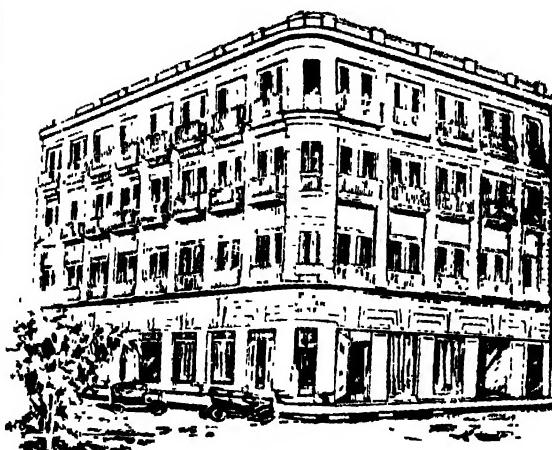
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indebtedness in the province and to suggest remedies for it. Several members of the Government were in favour of passing a Land Alienation Act, but he vehemently opposed the proposal as he was convinced that such an enactment would prove suicidal to the province. Luckily, good sense dawned on the members and the idea of such an Act was dropped.

Early in 1932, a Committee of Enquiry was set up to investigate into the management of the Agricultural College, Cawnpur, and on this he was asked to serve. The College administration was closely scrutinised and a number of proposals were made by him, which were unanimously adopted by the committee. These have led to an increase in general efficiency and economy in the teaching and working of the College.

Besides his work on the various Government Committees, he is serving on several public bodies as well. He is the Honorary Secretary of the U. P. Zamindars' Association, Muzaffarnagar, Sanatan Dharam Edward High School and the All-India Vaish Mahasabha, Meerut. He is very much interested in educational progress and is a member of the Executive Committee of the Meerut College, Meerut, Inder-prastha Girls' College, Delhi, and several other institutions.

A number of munificent donations to educational and other institutions were made by his mother and himself, the more important of them being Rs. 11,000 to the Benares Hindu University, Rs 10,000 to the Ayurvedic Rishikul College, Hardwar, and Rs. 5,000 for the construction of a Female Ward in the District Hospital, Muzaffarnagar. Other donations by them amount to about a lakh of rupees. He has also built a Hall in the Hostel of the S. D. E. High School, Muzaffarnagar and electrified the Civil Hospital. Apart from these, he maintains a charitable dispensary for the poor and feeds the poor of the town every evening. He also distributes clothes to needy and deserving people during the winter months.

In recognition of his meritorious services in various fields of activity the title of Rai Bahadur was conferred upon him by His Majesty's Government in January, 1934.

He has eight sons. The eldest, Lala Inder Raj Swarup, is looking after the management of his estate and is an Hony. Magistrate. The second son, Dr. Tej Raj Swarup, M. R. C. P. (London), is in the U. P. Medical Service. The third, Krishna Swarup B. Sc., received his training at Jamalpur, E. I. Railway, for four years for employment in the Superior Railway Service, and has now been sent to England by the Government for further training. His fourth son, Shanti Raj Swarup, B. Sc. (Agri.), graduated from the Cawnpur Agricultural College and has started his own Nursery, Farm and a Fruit Canning Factory. He is proceeding to England as a State Scholar for further studies and researches in fruit canning. His fifth and sixth sons, Prem Swarup and Ratan Swarup, are reading in the Allahabad University in B.Sc. (Final) and B.A. (Previous) classes, respectively. The other two are minors and are studying in local schools.

Growth of Landlordism in Bengal

BY SACHIN SEN, M.A., B.L.,
Advocate, High Court.

THE growth of the zamindar is extremely interesting: the zamindar came into being out of the inevitability of circumstances. In the Hindu revenue system there was little room for the zamindars. The headman does not correspond to a zamindar. In the absence of the headman, the revenue was farmed to the official collectors of revenue or outsiders. To collect revenue from the ryots not forming a part of the village community, some sort of agency was employed. These were the germs out of which sprouted the institution of landlordism. In Hindu times, these officers were officials and ordinarily hereditary. "Having grown out of the ancient rajahs, native leaders, and robber chiefs and out of various revenue officers, both ancient and modern, including the headman and farmers of the revenue, they (the zamindars) acquired in course of time a right to collect the revenue of districts varying in size, sometimes consisting of a village or two, and sometimes of a large tract of the country. They generally tended to displace the ancient revenue collectors whether headmen or rajahs, and to absorb their privileges." *

In the Hindu period, the office was hereditary and the zamindar, if that expression could be used, was in the position of a mere officer. This hereditary principle of the Hindu system came into conflict with the anti-hereditary principle of the Mahomedan rule. The Mahomedan Government insisted that "the zamindary was an office by the acceptance of a *sunnud*, at least in the case of the principal zamindars." But in the confusion of later times the Mahomedan anti-hereditary theory crumbled on the rock of the Hindu hereditary principles. In course of time, the zamindar became an hereditary officer. The functions of the zamindar were to pay the Government revenue and to collect the Government share of the produce. The zamindar handed over to the State all he received after deducting his own emoluments.

There are conflicting authorities upon the question of the hereditary character of the office. Mr. Grant says "that a possessive tenure of certain subordinate territorial jurisdictions, called zamindaries, in virtue of a *sunnud* or written grant, determinable necessarily with the life of the grantee, or at the pleasure of the sovereign representative, is universally vested

* Philips' Law of Land Tenures in Lower Bengal, pp. 96-97.

in certain natives, called zamindars, that is, technically holders of land, merely as farmers-general or contractors for the annual rents of Government." Mr. Grant admits that in the confusion of later times, the zamindar assumed, and the Government recognised, an hereditary right in the office. Others hold that the office of zamindar "could not be claimed as hereditary, though by long custom and perhaps out of policy, the children of deceased contractors were very generally admitted as successors to their parents ; they were not however in all cases appointed, and sometimes were ousted :" the ground of forfeiture being usually specified in the new *sunnud*. Sir W. Boughton Rouse says that the Government used formerly to sequester the zamindary on the death of a zamindar, but afterwards, the children came to succeed. Mr. Francis asserts in 1776 that "the land is the hereditary property of the zamindar." He holds it by the law of the country on the term of paying a contribution to Government. The larger zamindaries are said to have descended by primo geniture and the smaller ones were divided. The Royroyan says, "The zamindars of a middle and inferior rank hold their lands to this day solely by virtue of inheritance ; whereas the superior zamindars after succeeding to their zamindaries on the ground of inheritance are accustomed to receive, on the payment of a *nuzzaranah, peschush*, etc., a *dewanny sunnud* * from Government." The consent of Government was required for the succession of an adopted son.

The officers of revenue, whenever they could seize any opportunity, got their hereditary right admitted and were considered zamindars in their districts. After the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, most of the *Jageerdlars*, *Chowdhurics*, farmers-general, *enamdars*, *crories*, *desmookhs*, etc., became zamindars. When the central authority became weak, these officers in charge of various districts owned and possessed many rights and many powerful zamindars came into being.

In the process of time, the influence of zamindars began to increase. At first, a zamindar was bound to account for the whole revenue collected. But when the practice of a fixed revenue, payable to the State, without reference to the actual assessment of the ryots by the zamindar came into vogue, the zamindars began to gather influence : they exacted unauthorised contributions and this practice "ultimately established itself so completely that at length it came to be considered that the zamindar was

* The granting of *sunnud* is a formal recognition by the State of rights already existing and almost independent of it. The *sunnud* specifies the duties of the zamindar : he was a responsible representative of the Government in respect of the revenue ; he was bound to render detailed accounts of his collections and to assist the sovereign in case of invasion ; he was responsible for the peace and order of his zamindary ; his relation with the ryots was also that of a representative of the State, entitled to collect from them the share due to the Government and charged with the duty of protecting and assisting them, and the ryots in turn being bound to assist the zamindar in preserving peace and order ; the zamindar was bound to advance *tacavi* loans to the ryot in order to enable him to cultivate, to grant him remissions and indulgences in the payment of his revenue in case of calamity, and to exercise the functions of the State in encouraging and controlling especially with regard to the revenue ; he had the duty of allotting and assessing the lands of his zamindary, of seeing to the accounts of the revenue and of collecting the rents.

entitled to all he could squeeze out of the ryots in indirect way, and he gradually grew to be looked upon as a sort of landlord in his relation to the ryots and a sort of tenant in relation to the State." In this wise, the proprietary character of the zamindar came to be recognised while the official character came to be ignored.

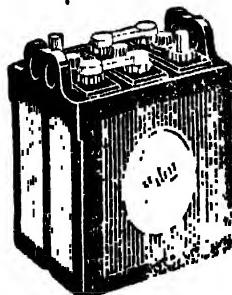
There was thus a contest between the State to treat the zamindar as an officer and the zamindar to acquire proprietary rights. Jaffier Khan, who governed Bengal from 1711 to 1726, tried hard to arrest the progress of the zamindary claims but was unsuccessful in his attempt. The Government had to abandon the contest : the zamindar acquired a fixed hereditary right to contract for the revenue. The zamindary right which was claimed to be a kind of property came to be alienable—"a decisive mark of proprietorship of the soil." Along with the acquisition of proprietary right the zamindar's emoluments began to expand. In the first place, he got a certain percentage of his collections ; in the second stage, he retained the surplus revenue after paying to Government the amount contracted for ; in the third stage, he distributed the assessment on a higher rate and enjoyed the receipts in excess of the stipulated amount ; in the fourth stage, he began to make unauthorised collections for his own benefit, and the subtle ways of enhancing the ryot's rent proved to be of distinct benefit to him.

The zamindar did also enjoy other privileges. The zamindar as a representative of Government had authority to arrange for the cultivation of waste land (*Khamar*) or fallow (*Bunger*) within his district and he enjoyed the whole of the revenue, as was payable for it. The revenue for the *Khamar* land, when cultivated by others, amounted to half the produce. The zamindar also enjoyed exemption from revenue of part of the land cultivated by himself (called *sir* or *neej-jote* land), and the right of paying a reduced rate upon the rest of his land—a very popular kind of remuneration practised in Bengal and Bihar. This *sir nankar* or *nankar*, i.e., the revenue remitted of the *neej-jote* land, was taken by some "as a strong mark of proprietorship with respect to the whole zamindary", a proposition which was neither strong nor sound. Mr. Shore pointedly says that "the principal zamindars received tithes and *Jageers* according to their rank ; while those of an inferior degree, in the event of their being obedient to the orders of Government attentive to the improvement of lands and punctual in the payment of their revenues, received *nankar* proportionate to their exigencies ; besides which they had no other allowances. The *nankar* was deducted from the revenue payable to Government. Afterwards, on the decline of the Empire, the villages were granted for *nankar* in lieu of money."*

* The extent of *nankar* : sometimes the land was that immediately surrounding the zamindar's house ; sometimes it consisted of lands adopted for special crops. The amount of *nankar* is variously estimated at from one to ten per cent ; but better opinion fixes it at about five per cent on the gross revenue, and the other allowances by way of deduction from the revenue to another five per cent. The zamindars as usual encroached upon the State in respect of their emoluments and ultimately contrived to appropriate the revenues of whole villages and even whole pergunnahs as their *nankar* in some instances—Phillip's Land Tenures in Lower Bengal, pp. 118-119.

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The zamindar enjoyed other emoluments : he appropriated fees paid by the non-agricultural members of the village community, the water and fishery dues, forest dues, pasturage dues, dues from fruit trees and orchards; he had preferential right to the use of the tanks, commons and pasture lands of village ; he claimed the services of village officers of all classes and the gratuitous labour of some of the village labourers ; he took a seer on each maund of grain, an anna and a half or two annas on a kutchha beegha or half beegha of other produce, half an anna in the rupee of money revenue, paid by each cultivator.*

The zamindar in Bengal had many cesses to their credit ; on births, marriages, deaths or festivals or on any other plea, the zamindar exacted a cess. Akbar forbade all exactions but these *abwabs* appeared in another form, and "according to an inveterate habit in India the abolished imposts reappeared as extra cesses." There is no denying the fact that the zamindar had all these emoluments and privileges by virtue of his official connection with the ruling power.

Theoretically the zamindar could be dismissed by the ruling power ; but practically scarcely he was dismissed.† The zamindar the idea cherished that he could not be ousted : the State regards him merely as an official. In case, a zamindar was ejected, the ordinary general rule was to instal one of his successors in the position, and in extreme case only, a stranger was appointed. The practice of paying allowances to displaced zamindars was well-established.

This was the position of the zamindar before the British rule. His position is discussed by various authorities and some of their views are given herein.

Mr. Grant in his "Political Survey of the Northern Circars" enunciates the extreme theory that the zamindar occupies a subordinate and official position. He catalogues the privileges of zamindars : firstly, zamindar is to stand in the place of a perpetual farmer-general of the lawful rents claimed by Government within the circle of his jurisdiction ; secondly, he is to be the channel of all mofassil *scrinjam* disbursements; he is to improve waste lands to his private advantage ; fourthly, he is to grant pattahs for untenanted farms ; fifthly, he is to distribute internally the burden of *abwabs*, or additional assessments, when levied on the *ausil jamma* by zamindary jurisdictions ; sixthly, he can pay his rents in money or kind agreeable to established rules adopted to either mode ; seventhly, he can nominate a suc-

* The zamindar derived his rights to them from the ancient headmen and malgoozars : they were allowances for the risk of collection. His allowance for collection was nominally five per cent and his whole allowance ten per cent.

† Sir W. Boughton Rouse says that a zamindar could only be dispossessed on account of crime, failure to pay the revenue, rebellion, public robbery or other flagrant misconduct ; another authority says that the zamindari families were in practice scarcely ever removed except for rebellion ; Mr. Grant says that the *suzmud* was of indefinite duration and could be revoked at pleasure ; there are authorities asserting that the zamindar could be dismissed like any other officer at the will of the sovereign.

cessor to his zamindary with the approbation of the sovereign representative to be confirmed by *dewanny sunnuds*: eighthly, he can appear by a deputy in his behalf or that of any of the ryots subordinate to his authority, unless summoned by special writ applicable personally to himself.

Mr. Grant, who is definitely anti-zamindar in his conclusions, sums up the functions of zamindars, acting permanently in one or all of the following official capacities, viz., either as annual contracting farmers-general of the public rent; formal representatives of the peasantry; collectors of the royal proprietary revenue, entitled to *russoom* or commission of five per cent on the net receipts of the moffussil or subordinate treasuries or as financial superintendents of a described local jurisdiction, periodically variable in extent, and denominated trust or tenure of zamindary, talookdary or territorial servile holding in tenancy within which however is appropriated a certain small portion of land called *nankar* partaking of the nature of a freehold; serving as a family subsistence to the superior landholder, to give him an attachment for the soil and make up the remainder of his yearly stated tithe for personal management in behalf of the State."

Mr. Shore in a minute of the 8th December, 1789, said:—"The relation of a zamindar to Government and of a ryot to a zamindar is neither that of a proprietor nor a vassal but a compound of both. The former performs acts of authority unconnected with proprietary right, the latter has rights without real authority; and the property of the one and rights of the other are in a great measure held at discretion."

Harrington described the position of the zamindar under the Mogul constitution and practice in the following way:—"The zamindar appears to be a landholder of a peculiar description, not definable by any single term in our language. A receiver of the territorial revenue of the State from the ryots, and other tenants of land. Allowed to succeed to his zamindary by inheritance; yet in general required to take out a renewal of his title from the sovereign or his representative on payment of a peshkush or fine of investiture to the Emperor, and a *nuzuranah* or present to his provincial delegate the Nazim. Permitted to transfer his zamindary by sale or gift; yet commonly expected to obtain previous special permission. Privileged to be generally the annual contractor for the public revenue receivable from his zamindary; yet set aside with a limited provision in land or money whenever it was the pleasure of Government to collect the rents by separate agency, or to assign them temporarily or permanently by the grant of a *jageer* or *ultumgha*. Authorised in Bengal since the early part of the present century to apportion to the pergunnahs, villages and lesser divisions of land within his zamindary the *abwab* or cesses imposed by the Soobadar, usually in some proportion to the standard assessment of the zamindary established by Torunmul and others; yet subject to the discretionary interference of public authority, either to equalise the amount assessed on particular divisions or to abolish what appeared oppressive to the ryot. Entitled to any contingent emoluments proceeding from his contract

during the period of his agreement ; yet bound by the terms of his tenure to deliver in a faithful account of his receipts. Responsibility by the same terms for keeping the peace within his jurisdiction but apparently allowed to apprehend only and deliver over to a Mussalman Magistrate for trial and punishment."

The Fifth Report describes : "They (zamindars) were in general no other than the revenue servants of districts or sub-divisions of a province who were obliged by the conditions on which they held their office to account for the collections they made to the governing power in whose service they were employed and for which service they were in the enjoyment of certain remuneratory advantages, regulated on the principle of a percentage or commission on the revenue within the limits of their local charge ; but having in the process of time and during periods of revolution or of weakness in the sovereign authority acquired an influence and ascendancy which it was difficult to keep within the confines of official duty, it was found convenient to treat with them as contractors for the revenues of their respective districts, that is, they were allowed on stipulating to pay the State a certain sum for such advantage for a given period, to appropriate the revenue to their own use and profits ; the amount of the sum for which they engaged depended on the relative strength or weakness of the parties, the ability of the Government to enforce or of the zamindar to resist."

The Court of Directors observed in 1792 : "Custom generally gave them (zamindars) a certain species of hereditary occupancy ; but the sovereign nowhere appears to have bound himself by any law or compact not to deprive them of it and the rents to be paid by them remained always to be fixed by his arbitrary will and pleasure. It was considered therefore as a right of property, it was very imperfect and very precarious ; having not at all or but in a very small degree, those qualities that confer independence and value upon the landed property of Europe.

Sir Charles Wilkins says : "A zamindar is an officer who under the Mahammedan Government was charged with the superintendence of the lands of a district, the protection of the cultivators and the realisation of the Government share of the produce, either in money or kind, out of which he was allowed a commission, amounting to about 10 per cent and occasionally a special grant of the Government share of the produce of the land of certain villages for his subsistence called *nankar*. The appointment was occasionally renewed and as it was generally continued in the same person, so long as he conducted himself to the satisfaction of the ruling power and even continued to his heirs, so in process of time and through the decay of the ruling power and the confusion which ensued, hereditary right, at best prescriptive, was claimed and tacitly acknowledged, till at length the zamindars of Bengal in particular from being superintendents of the land have been declared to be the hereditary proprietors of the soil."

Thus there were two distinct contradictory views about the proprietary

character of the zamindars before the advent of British rule—the one class arguing that the principle of dividing the produce with the cultivators, the existence of the *sunnud* making investiture essential, the zamindary being a service, the terms in the *sunnud* assigning duties but conveying no property, the payment of a fine to the Sovereign as a preliminary to investiture,—all such traits annihilate the idea of a proprietary inheritable right, and the other class arguing that the zamindary was inheritable by usage and prescription, the *sunnud* merely confirming existing rights, the State claim of the share of rents was not inconsistent with the existence of proprietary right, the Nazarana paid on investiture was probably an exaction,—all these support the proprietary character of the zamindar.*

In proof of the proprietary character of the zamindar, it is stated that when the Company applied in 1715 for a grant of the talukdari of 38 villages near their Bengal factory, they were told that they would have to purchase the rights of the owners : and when Gulum Hussain, the historian, was asked by Sir John Shore whether he ought to pay for land of which he wanted to take possession, his reply was "the Emperor is proprietor of the revenue, he is not proprietor of the soil."

That the ruler was an absolute owner was discouraged during the Hindu and Mahomedan rule. At the same time there was another doctrine—that the conqueror is all supreme, his will is the only law and everything is his. The very idea that the tribute or *Khiraj* was a mild substitute for slavery or death is traceable to this doctrine. King acquires everything by conquest, so should he claim land and the amount of his demand for revenue is a matter for his will and conscience. Such a claim was made by later sovereigns when they required more money. The British authorities succeeded to them in all their doctrines.

The British Government claimed the doctrine for distributing, conferring and recognising rights on a new basis. The outcome was that they recognised private rights and retained such rights for itself as were necessary. It was a case of partition.

The claims made by the British Administration in India are categorically stated by Baden Powell :—

(1) Government used its own eminent claim as a starting point from which to recognise or confer definite titles in the land in favour of persons or communities that it deemed entitled.

(2) It retained the right to waste lands.

(3) It retained useful subsidiary rights—such as minerals or the right to water in lakes and streams.

(4) It retained the right of escheat and to dispose of estates forfeited for crime, rebellion etc.

(5) It reserved the right, for the security of its income, of regarding all lands as in a manner hypothecated as security for the land revenue.

At the time of the Permanent Settlement and afterwards there were three claimants for the right to the soil : the sovereign, the zamindar and the cultivator. The right was claimed for the sovereign because there was no limit to his power to take the profits. It is criticised on two grounds, viz., that there are limits to his taking the produce both in express law and custom, and that he did never exercise a right to anything beyond the natural or accidental produce of the soil. The zamindary right is a hereditary and alienable proprietary right in land. On behalf of the cultivator it may urged that the khudkast's right is hereditary.†

(To be continued)

* A. C. Guha's Land systems in Bengal, pp. 32-33.

† Philips' Law of Land Tenures in Lower Bengal.

An Analysis of the Landholders' Position

BY TARADAS CHATTERJEE, M. SC., B. L.,
Advocate, High Court, Calcutta.

THE business of the zamindars and landholders is ordinarily understood to be confined to their dealings with the tenants. To some extent this had been so, but now-a-days the position has been considerably changed. In most cases nearly half the dealings are with the Court or the pleaders ; only where the zamindar is so fortunate as to have big "Bhadraloque" tenants, he need not maintain any *katchari* at all for

his collection. This has become more so by the various restrictive legislations against the landholders and the unbalanced sympathy of the Court in favour of the tenant, whoever the tenant may be. The landlord requires now-a-days an office near the Court and a strong force of *tudbirkars* with a few blank cheques to them. It is quite a common experience now that a landlord can be deprived of his legal dues and ruined if the tenant and the pleader combine and choose to make a criminal waste of money. The interminable Court procedure along with the unusual sympathy of the Court results in an irreparable mischief to the landlord in the garb of justice.



Mr. Taradas Chatterjee, M. Sc., B. L.

decretal dues by sale, the job, to speak sincerely, is an impossibility to a decree-holder with limited resources in a period of time within which the arrear of rent is worth recovery.

In the first place, the tenant may resist from the beginning by evading service of summons. I have got specific instances of evasion of service for 6 months from the date of institution of the suit. Then, after appearance, comes applications for time to file written statement. These

Commencing from the institution of a rent suit and the prosecution thereof upto the recovery of the

applications usurp the rest of the year after which you are surprised with a lengthy written statement which contains statements without any restraint. The allegations may go so far as to attack the landlord's character and social position, may impute to him greed for money and property in addition to the stereo-typed defences which may not fit in with the case. In the eye of the defendant, rather his colleague, the pleader, it is a crime to claim rent.

After such an attack made solemnly in a Court, the landlord cannot rest satisfied with a copy of his previous decree, or collection papers and counterparts. He has to haul up his *malkhana* and gather every srip or paper concerning the tenancy and will be bound to take a few adjournments to meet the chimerical defences. This will give fresh start to the tenant to take further adjournments. It is also alleged that out of respect no receipt was taken. After a year of adjournments far exceeding the authorized limits for disposal of suits and several "S. F." (specially fixed dates) the case is sometimes to your surprise disposed of *erparte*.

Two years are probably over since the institution of the suit and now the tenant gets a new field before the appellate Court in which there is unlimited scope for delay.

Where there is no appeal and the landlord puts his decree into execution, he will probably entertain a hope of recovery. But to his utter surprise he will find that he cannot do anything. Objections and miscellaneous cases are hurled up one after another on unfounded grounds and technicalities and the orders thereon subjected to revision or appeal by the Hon'ble High Court resulting in unlimited delay. A new defence is now-a-days resorted to by alleging that the decretal amount has been paid in the hand of the landlord or the landlord's wife with the clear intention of hauling them into Court and harassing them. It is also alleged that out of respect no receipt was taken.

The reader may think that the delays and harassments pointed out above are necessary evils common to all plaintiffs and are not the special grievance of landlords alone. To this my submission is that though the harassment is common to all plaintiffs, it is not so to all decree-holders. The holders of decree for rent are looked upon by the Court in a different light. Even the statute is against them. If after 6 months or at any time after the sale has taken place an application to set aside sale is made, the Court will set aside the sale. Of course the landlord cannot have any grievance if he gets his dues immediately. But the thing is quite different if such applications are entertained after a month or more. But the Court is no longer a Court of Justice. It is then a Court of Mercy to the defaulter. The Court will not consider any fact or law. The sale might have taken place long ago, the property purchased by an outsider or the landlord himself, settlements made and documents exchanged with various parties and some sort of satisfaction arrived at

in respect of subsequent dues from such parties. Every body can imagine the harm done by setting aside a sale after such a length of time and disorganising so many contracts entered into subsequently.

Here lies the difference with the other plaintiffs. A decree satisfied by setting aside a sale after a long period is quite another thing. The purchaser in a rent sale can neither take possession nor make any settlement of the property, for every thing will be upset on the sale being set aside. Intending rayats for the land cannot venture to negotiate. The result is that the value of the land goes down and the only security of the landlord for his rent is jeopardised.

So the landlord's present position is such that a tenant can successfully put off realization of rent for indefinite period without fear of loss of property and that any amount ultimately recovered is spent or lost in different shape.

If the Courts are for passing decrees merely and not for recovering the dues, then why does the legislature penalise the landlords by making them or their agents dance attendance for nothing? Practical justice would have been done if the legislature flatly refused the so-called reliefs granted by the right hand only to be taken way by the left hand. Let there be a frank declaration so that the landlords may take a decisive course.

Who would not like to be lenient to a rayat or a poor cultivator for the sake of giving him a chance to pick up his arrear? A zamindar or landholder is not worth the name if his mentality is such as cannot share the miseries of his rayat. But, as I have stated above, the big "Bhadraloque" tenants or tenure-holders who have studied the bench and the procedural tricks, do not really pay the rent as in duty bound but play a board of chess with the help of his pleader "King", agent "Knight", and hired "Soldiers" against the landlord.

Some of the landlord's grievances will be cut short if some legislations or amendments in the existing laws are made to the following effect:

(1) A simpler method for service of summons on tenants whose rent is above Rs. 100. This will not affect rayats but prevent middlemen from making the law infructuous if they intend to do so. Those who hold a jama of Rs. 100 have almost invariably got a permanent residence within the jurisdiction of a post office.

(2) If a sale be set aside after one month from the date of the sale, the Court should take evidence and consider any contract or engagement made *bonafide* by the auction purchaser after confirmation of the sale and indemnify the parties concerned and provide for payment of rent up to date, if not already recovered under section 159 Bengal Tenancy Act.

(3) That no sale should be set aside after 6 months from the date of sale.

(4) The time for setting aside a rent decree should not go beyond the time for setting aside the sale by one who was made a party in the suit.

(5) The Court Fees Act be so amended as to exempt that portion of the claim which is made on account of cesses in a suit for rent

If my above views or any one of them are endorsed by my brother landlords, I shall be glad to analyse our situation further and give some more suggestions.

Floods in Netrokona, Mymensingh

BY MAHARAJA BHUPENDRA CHANDRA SINGH OF SUSANG.

OF late much has been written in the papers regarding the floods in Perguunah Susang which forms part of the Netrokona sub-division. So I refrain from giving further accounts of this visitation and the ravages done by it. It will be enough to point out here that but for the prompt help rendered by the District Magistrate and the ready and generous assistance by the Mymensingh landholders the situation would have become extremely grave in Thanas Durgapur and Purbadhala. The Shankat Tran Samity has rendered yeoman's service to the people of Kalmakanda. I must gratefully mention the name of my esteemed friend the Hon'ble Raja Bahadur of Santosh and that of Mr. Choudhuri, Editor of the *Land-holders' Journal* for securing help from persons outside for the people of the affected areas. I cannot pass without mentioning the name of Babu Brajendra Narayan Acharyya Choudhuri who had done so much to rouse the sympathy of the Mymensingh zamindars for the afflicted people, but who, alas, is no more !



The Maharaja of Susang

Though Providence had put the people of these parts to a hard test still he saved them from utter ruin, for it would have been a different story altogether had the rush of water come in during the night. Nothing is an unmixed evil as is evident from the fact that the sufferings of the people of these quarters have received the most sympathetic attention from as high a personage as His Excellency the Governor of Bengal down to a poor postal clerk in the farthest corner of Burmah ! The people of these parts residing in an obscure corner of Bengal, at the foot of the Assam Hills, a tract of land connected with the centres of civilisation neither by rail-roads nor by any road worth the name, could never otherwise have hoped to get so many sympathisers—people high and low ! So, calamity has not altogether been an unmixed evil in this case.

Now let me deal with the causes of the flood and see if a repetition of the like can be averted. It would be well to give here some idea of the situation of the place that has been affected by the recent floods. The Netrokona sub-division is bounded by the Garo Hills on the north, and the Sylhet district on the east. Pergunnah Susang forms the northern part of Netrokona sub-division. The floods have created a havoc in the greater part of Susang Pergunnah. There are innumerable hilly streams that supply water to the main rivers in the sub-division, and in some places there are big Beels that act as the natural reservoir of water that usually go down the big rivers, rendering the local streams and rivers shallow during the dry season. The locality, particularly a portion of the Thana Kalmakanda, is affected by the flood in Sylhet area, the cause of the flood in that area being excessive supply of water from the Khasia Hills and the Someswari and Kangsa floods. The Durgapur Thana is affected by flood in the Someswari and the Kangsa. Part of the Purba-dhala Thana is affected by flood in the Kangsa more or less.

It appears to me that the whole of the surplus water flows down the main water channels in the sub-division to the river Meghna. Water from the Garo Hills is carried mainly by the Bogai, the Nitai, the Someswari, the Guneswari, the Mahadeo and the Mohishkhola. A considerable volume of water comes down the Bogai and the Nitai to the Kangsa, a portion comes down the Someswari to Balach, thence to the Kangsa, and a considerable portion of the Someswari goes to the Ubdakhali, thence to the Gomai, the Dhonu and the Meghna. The Kangsa also leads *via* the Gomai to the Meghna ultimately. The whole of the water from the Guneswari, the Mahadeo and the Mohishkhola flows down the Ubdakhali, to the Gomai and thence to the Meghna.

The rush of water in the Someswari is tremendous when the first flow of water comes down the river just after a heavy shower in the Hills. So, whenever the usual outlets for the surplus water are hindered, the river breaks open an outlet creating endless havoc to many villages and beautiful fields. During the last few years the natural opening connecting the Ubdakhali and the Someswari has been blocked and the river has necessarily become very destructive causing ruin to neighbouring villages and fields. This year the rush of water was unusually terrific as all on a sudden the volume of water had reached 8 ft. above the flood level that was then existing. People who usually reside by the side of big rivers and Beel area in the plain may not understand what this means to the people residing just at a point from where the river comes out of the Hills. The rise is as sudden as the going down of the flood. The people in this part are used to sudden over-flooding of the banks three or four times every year during the rains. Formerly, the flood used to stand at Susang proper never more than 24 hours. I remember, when I was a student, we used to get during the summer holidays one or two such floods—and then we would be all in a hurry to go out in boats and come back before the waters had subsided. In those days usually the water

used to stand from 6 to 8 hours. But during the last six or seven years I find flood water standing at Susang even for 48 hours. This year the water stood for more than 100 hours.

It is evident from the standing of the water that it is not properly and promptly drained now as it used to be before. It may be that this year the rainfall has been unusually heavy but this must not have been the case all these seven years.

It will be found that for miles along the Someswari the sands on the river beds are as beautiful as the sands on the sea-shore. This is the case with the Mahadeo river too. But the Someswari brings down a huge quantity of sand from the Hills every year.

Earthquake is very frequent in these parts. The earthquake of 1897 created a havoc in this locality such as has recently been witnessed in Bihar and the topography has undergone vast changes thereafter. The big Beels were filled up immediately after the shock, and, where it had been all dry, a Nullah made its appearance—so on and so forth. Subsequent shocks have created changes more or less of this nature.

Recently extension of the Netrokona Mohanganj Railway line has created some obstructions to the natural drainage system of the locality. It is an accepted belief that Railway authorities are not so very careful as they ought to be in the matter of keeping the natural drainage system open.

It is to be noted that more water came down the Someswari this year than along the other hilly rivers mentioned above. This may be due to excessive rains in the Someswari basin; or it may be, some water passages have been blocked and the greater volume of water from the Hills has come down the Someswari. This matter may be properly looked into by the Government of Assam, and the task of providing a remedy for high floods in the Someswari becomes easy if only an opening is made in the blocked passage in the Garo Hills.

I have visited and gathered from the locality that many of the Beels in Thanas Kalmakanda and Durgapur have been silted up during the past ten years. The famous Dobas in the Someswari have also mostly been filled up during these years.

I may now turn to the causes of the recent change in the drainage system of the locality and sum up the position by saying that either the rainfalls have been excessive during the past few years, so much so that the natural passages are insufficient for the outlet of the water or the natural drainage system has become obstructed somehow and somewhere. The statistics for the rain-falls are not available just now. But I dismiss the idea of systematically excessive rainfalls during the past seven years as it is not warranted by public experience. Moreover, it will mean a serious task to get up the figures to test the correctness of that conclusion. I, therefore, accept the only other rational explanation that the floods are due to obstruction to the natural drainage system.

I have travelled in the interior of the Garo Hills and have marked how along the sides of the hilly rivers deforestation has taken place during the last few years. Due to deforestation along the sides of the hilly rivers sands rush down the rivers along with the floods. As a result of this not only the Dobas have been filled up in the hilly rivers much to the detriment of the fish sanctuaries but the Beels have also been silted up that formerly used to be the natural reservoirs of water and formed the natural fisheries in the plains.

Due to earthquake there has been a general raising up of the river beds. Hence the overflooding has become rather much too frequent.

Due to the railway embankments insufficiently or ill provided with culverts, natural drainage has suffered considerably. Consequently water stands for a longer period and silting sets in more easily.

The above, therefore, are some of the causes of the silting of the Beels and rivers in the sub-division and hence of the recent floods.

I shall now suggest a few ways in which flood menace may be prevented in future.

1. For an unobstructed and well-functioning drainage system in this area, it is necessary to connect the Someswari with the Ubdakhali along the old Ubdakhali Nullah and to keep open the Balach, the Gumai, the Ubdakhali and the Kangsa. Without a step like this, the area will gradually become depopulated, and it will very soon become wilderness again,—and this is a sad result to contemplate in this age of science when wonders are being effected all over the world.

2. The Railway authorities should be persuaded to open up more gaps in the road between Netrokona and Mohanganj in particular.

3. The Government of Assam should be persuaded to stop deforestation along the Someswari, the Mohadeo, the Nitai and the Bogai in particular.

4. To excavate some of the Beels that used to be the natural reservoirs of water.

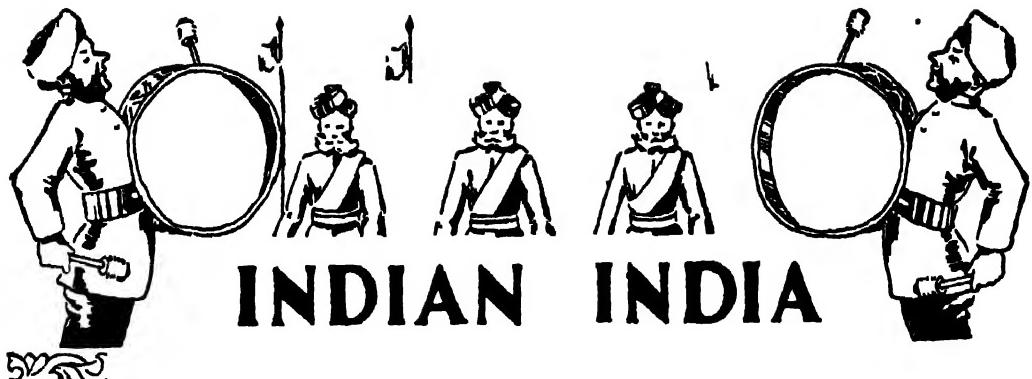
In so far as earthquake is the cause of the floods the suggestion of a remedy presents considerable difficulty, in fact, one which is well-nigh impossible to solve.

We find that even the Meghna is unable to drain the water that comes down into it. In the face of this the proposal for having a bridge over the Meghna should be viewed with the greatest alarm, and should be opposed by all legitimate means.

Flood has become a standing menace in Bengal, and hence the causes thereof should be more carefully investigated. It is now time to think seriously whether the Government should launch upon the construction of a net-work of canals to do away with the evils of inadequate drainage due to the silting up of almost all the great rivers of Northern India or go on extending railway lines and thereby blocking the passages of the great rivers that bring health and prosperity to this country. If precautions are not taken in time, devastating floods will only be of more frequent occurrence and the results may become more and more serious.

It may be admitted that floods are a boon to the agriculturists in as much as the soil improves immensely after a flood. But they are also terrible agents of destruction when they wash away men, crops and cattle, in fact, everything that comes in their way.

I am not a specialist and hence I am unable to give any point of view but that of a layman. I, however, record it to draw the attention of the experts who may persuade the Government to take necessary action.



HYDERABAD

Certain *Firmans* which His Exalted Highness the Nizam has issued during the last one year or two in connection with the Moharrum and other religious festivals and subjects have been misinterpreted in some quarters as denoting an intention to give up the Sunni faith in favour of the Shiah. To correct that impression the following *Firman* has recently been issued :

"I have learnt through some sources that the hereditary religious beliefs that I have held in accordance with the Quran and the authentic traditions of the Holy Prophet, not from to-day but ever since I attained the age of discretion, and which constitute Hanafi Tafzeelia in the real sense, and in conformity with which I have mentioned in a previous firman, that devotion to or belief in the Prophet's family who were a part of 'Sequalia' 'two worlds'—was a part of my faith, have created an idea in the minds of the public that I have changed my religion, which is not true. It is therefore necessary for me to write a few lines to explain this matter. And it is this, namely, that all the different sects which have existed in Islam are generally one in principle. No doubt, there are differences in regard to minor and subsidiary matters, and these have been in existence for the last thirteen centuries, and so long as the main principles remain unchanged, minor and secondary matters cannot by themselves endanger religion. When such is the case it will be incumbent on every human being to follow the course which his commonsense suggests—a course which is supported by the Book of God and the sayings of the Holy Prophet and which he should follow, as he cannot be subject in his personal beliefs to any other individual. Apart from this, religion is not an ordinary thing to be made a child's play but it is an important matter. A verse from the Quran says : 'No bearer of a burden can bear the burden of another.' 'My guidance is only from Allah the High and the Great.' "

According to the annual report on the working of the Co-Operative Department in the Nizam's Dominions, the number of new societies organised during the year was 134 and of those cancelled 12. 2554 Societies were working at the end of the year as compared with 2,431 in the last year. They consisted of a Dominion Bank, a Central Co-operative Union, 35 Central Banks, 2,130 agricultural credit societies, 365 non-agricultural societies, and 22 societies in the British Administered areas. Notable increases were 2 in the number of Central Banks, 116 in that of agricultural societies and 2 in that of non-agricultural societies. The membership of the movement increased by 3471 from 72,125 to 75,596.



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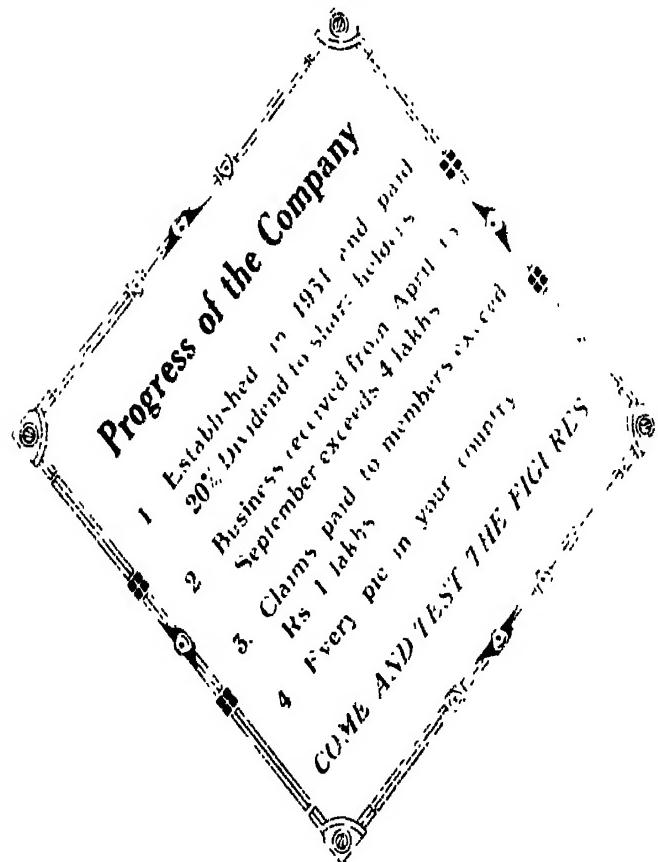
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Similarly the working capital went up from Rs. 2,29.31 lakhs to Rs. 2,31.19 lakh, the net increase being Rs. 5.79,51.

The membership of Central Banks rose from 1,868 individuals to 2,097, societies from 2,146 to 2,197, with the working capital from Rs. 62.60 lakhs to Rs. 64.02 lakhs and the reserve and contingent funds from Rs. 5.74 lakhs to Rs. 7.18 lakhs.

The memberships of agricultural and non-agricultural societies went up respectively from 42,000 to 43,631 and 6,640 to 17,262 and their respective working capital from Rs. 86.87 lakhs to Rs. 8.813 lakhs and Rs. 27.20 lakhs to Rs. 29.43 lakhs.

The Central Co-operative Union continued to function with slightly increased membership. It held co-operative training classes and entertained five officers for propaganda in villages. Rural reconstruction continued to engage the attention of the Union and it is hoped that "before long there will be a good number of societies for rural reconstruction working in the State for the social and economic betterment of the agricultural masses."

* * * * *

Trade and Industry showed a steady development in the Dominions during the year ending October 1932. The Cottage Industries Institute continued its useful work. Improvement has been effected by the introduction of new designs prepared by Miss McLeish, the lady designer, whose services were temporarily acquired for a period of six months. The Government Soap Factory, whose retention had been sanctioned till 1343 Fasli, continued to work during the year but at a net loss of Rs. 6,975. The Experimental Carpet Factory, Warrangal, established direct trade relations with the Oriental Carpet Manufacturers, London, and placed through them their products on the London market.

Ten applicants were granted loans amounting to Rs. 59,391 from the Industrial Trust Fund.

The Industries Department participated during the year in three Industrial Exhibitions outside the State and conducted demonstrations in two Co-operative Conferences in order to popularise its work.

Mr. B. A. Collins to whose initiative and guidance the successful working of the Department for the last five years as well as a number of important industrial legislations were due, retired at the close of the year under review.

mysore

His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, has given a sum of Rs. 2,000 towards the improvement of the water-supply of the Hassan town.

He has also been pleased to donate a further sum of Rs. 550 for the temples, mosques and churches of the town.

The Government of Mysore have decided on the installation of a steel

plant at Bhadravati as a profitable way of disposing of the surplus pig iron produced at the Bhadravati Iron Works. They think that there is a wide and growing market for ordinary steel sections, such as bars, flats, rounds and small angles, the total demand in India being three times the output of the Tata Steel Company. The balance is now met by imports from abroad. It is estimated that there is a market for 30,000 tons of steel in areas where the Bhadravati works have freight advantages. The Siemen's Martin basic open hearth furnace and rolling mill suited to the rolling of bars and other steel sections, which will be installed, will entail a cost of Rs. 18 lakhs in the current year for which a supplemental demand will be placed before the next meeting of the Mysore Legislative Council. According to the computation of the Tariff Board which examined the scheme, the invested capital will yield a surplus of 2 lakhs i.e. a return of 10 per cent after meeting the depreciation and other charges.

* * * * *

Since the extension of the provisions of the Mysore Agriculturists' Relief Regulation (1928) to certain districts of the State, representations have been made that the power of borrowing on the part of the agriculturists have been very much affected and that moneylenders were unwilling to lend on account of the restrictive provisions of the Regulation. In view of these representations and in pursuance of the promise made to the Representative Assembly, the Government of Mysore have appointed a committee of officials and non-officials to examine how far the extension of the Mysore Agriculturists' Relief Regulation to the whole State had affected the credit of the agriculturists and to submit a report to the Government indicating in what respect, if any, the Regulation requires to be amended.

* * * * *

In view of the importance of the sericulture industry in Mysore, it is understood that the Government have decided to set up a separate Board (apart from the Industries Board) to consider subjects connected with the industry. In response to urgent demand from the trade, the Government have also promised to place additional funds at the disposal of the Industries Department to make necessary improvements in the several stages of the industry with a view to reducing the cost of production as far as possible.

In order to meet the situation that has arisen from the dumping of raw silk by Japan and China, the Government have also promised to give sympathetic consideration to the scheme of improvement which has been drawn up by the Mysore Silk Association, involving a capital expenditure of Rs. 10·59 lakhs.

TRAVANCORE

The budget which was presented by Mr. N. K. Pillai, Financial Secretary to the State, to the Sri Mulam Assembly disclosed a sound financial position in spite of a succession of lean years.

The actuals for 1108 M. E. were 234.82 lakhs revenue and 227.91 lakhs expenditure, leaving a surplus of 6.91 lakhs. For those for expenditure the current year the revised estimates for revenue stand at 232.66 lakhs and at Rs. 237.77 lakhs : together they disclose a gap of Rs. 5.11 lakhs on the wrong side. This is attributed in part to the expenditure that had to be incurred during the Viceroy's visit. The 1110 M. E. (1934-35) estimates show a surplus of 2.60 lakhs with a revenue of Rs. 232 lakhs. The capital position of the Government appears particularly strong with 410.58 lakhs assets and 293.44 lakhs liabilities at the close of 1110.

A windfall of no small value accrued to the State as the result of a late discovery that it was liable only for underwriting the interest on the capital (Rs. 138.77 lakhs) raised for the Shencottah-Quilon Railway and not for repayment of the principal. The whole of the accumulated Sinking Fund amount (Rs. 69.43 lakhs) could now be appropriated to the general revenues.

* * * * *

The Government have as a matter of further concession sanctioned the general remission of 12½ per cent of the tax allowed in respect of all wet lands in the State for 1109 M.E., being extended to *pattom* due on Kandukrishi lands as well. They have also decided to grant the following concessions in regard to land revenue for the year 1110 M.E. :

(a) A reduction of 18½ per cent in the land tax on all ayacut wet lands and tank bed conversions in the taluks of Thovala and Agasteeswaram and on post-settlement Kayal reclamations in the taluks of Ambalapuzha, Chengannassery and Kottayam.

(b) A reduction of 12½ per cent in land tax, excluding water rate, on all other lands wet or dry, including Kandukrishi and Sri Pandaravaka lands, but excluding lands cultivated with tea, rubber, cardammom, or coffee.

As regards the interest on agricultural and industrial loans, the Government are pleased to reduce the rate from six per cent to four per cent both on outstanding and future loans.

* * * * *

The services of Mr. S. Kamesam, Wood Preservation Expert of the Government of India, have been placed for a month at the disposal of the Travancore Durbar for drawing up a scheme for a more extensive and efficient utilisation of the timber resources of the State.

KASHMIR

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir's birthday celebrations were recently held with great eclat and solemnity throughout the State.

* * * * *

A communique issued by the Kashmir Durbar says :

His Highness the Maharaja in February last sanctioned the remission of all arrears in excess of five years in respect of *Nautors* made in the Reasi Tehsil prior to Samvat 1972. It was also laid down that mutations in respect of these *Nautors* should be attested along with the recovery of five

years' revenue and that proprietary rights in such land should be conferred thereafter. His Highness has been since pleased to apply this order to other Tehsils in the Jammu Province where circumstances are similar to those obtaining in the Reasi Tehsil. Revenue on the *Nawar* lands will be collected for the five years preceding kharif Sambat 1989.

KOLHAPUR

According to the administration report of the Kolhapur State for the year ending 1932-33 the net revenue of the State, which was Rs. 53,20,522, fell short of the actual expenditure by more than 10 lakhs of rupees. The expenditure on education was Rs. 3,65,770 and on medical relief Rs. 73,491. The outstanding feature of the report is the great disparity between the 'actuals' and the budgetary estimates. The total estimated expenditure was Rs. 39,39,523 but the actuals were Rs. 63,23,572. The estimates under "Other heads of Expenditure" were Rs. 11 lakhs against actuals of more than double the amount; those under "Public Works" were Rs. 3 lakhs against the actual expenditure of Rs. 12,97,009. This does not reflect credit on those who are in charge of framing the budget or of the management of the States' finances.

NAWANAGAR

With a view to helping the local handloom industry in these days of depression, the Nawanagar Durbar have recently reduced the import duty on yarn coming from British India by rail or sea from Rs. 2-4-0 to Rs. 1-9-0. This is understood to be an experimental measure and will be in force for one year.

GONDAL

His Highness Maharaja Shri Bhagvatsinghjee Saheb completed the fiftieth year of his reign on the 28th August last. A Golden Jubilee is being celebrated in the State with great eclat to commemorate the event. According to the *Tula Vidhi* ceremony His Highness has been weighed against gold worth Rs. 175 lakhs which, it is resolved, will be utilised in financing enduring works of public utility. Among the several concessions and grants which His Highness has announced special mention should be made of a sum of Rs. 10 lakhs which has been set apart from the public revenues for the construction of a bridge near Upleta over the confluence of the rivers Bhadar and Moj to ensure continuous traffic all the year round.

LIMBDI

It is understood that the Limbdi State has in hand public utility projects of the estimated cost of Rs. 4 lakhs. A bridge, at an estimated cost of Rs. 1 lakh, is under construction and will be thrown open for traffic from about the beginning of the next year. A lakh of rupees has been set apart for financing a big water scheme and rupees two lakhs for constructing a hospital with a maternity section and equipping it with the most up-to-date clinical and surgical appliances.



Rai Govindra Krishna Roy Bahadur
of Bhagyalakshmi

Rai Gunendra Krishna Roy Bahadur of Bhagyakul, Dacca.

FEW indeed are persons who are born with a silver spoon in their mouth but fewer still are those who know how to convert their inherited wealth into a real blessing—a blessing to themselves, their country and humanity.

To this latter category of blessed mortals belonged the late Babu Giridhari Lall Roy of the Bhagyakul Roy family—admittedly the premier House of zamindars, bankers and industrialists in Eastern Bengal, whose opulence has passed into a bye-word. An innate generosity and liberality prompted him to loosen his ample purse-strings for the benefit of those who were needy, distressed or hopelessly stranded in life. Popularity and pride of place were never his watchword—but to give himself away in the service of ailing and suffering humanity. Prior to his death in 1908 he executed a will directing his successor to establish a charitable dispensary at Serajdigha after the name of his father for rendering medical aid to poor people round about that village and a Hindu Widow Maintenance Fund for provision of helpless Hindu widows of the Dacca district with Rs 40,500 and Rs. 30,000, respectively. The two sums were handed over to the Collector of Dacca in 1910 for the said two purposes, and the dispensary building, whose construction had been finished in 1916, was formally opened a year later by His Excellency Lord Ronaldsay, the then Governor of Bengal.

Giridhari Lall left no male issue but permitted his wife to adopt a son and heir to her choice. Accordingly Gunendra Krishna Roy, natural son to the late Mukunda Lall Roy who was a cousin and co-sharer of Giridhari Lall Roy, was adopted in 1910 when he had reached his fifteenth year. His early life recorded a number of narrow and miraculous escapes from situations which threatened it with extinction. To mention only one incident—while travelling in a steamer on the Padma (the Ganges) he accidentally fell into the river and was rescued with difficulty from watery grave by two Mahammadan *lascars*. He seemed to bear a charmed existence which went to prove, in a subtle way, the truth of the popular view that Providence protects and spares those whom He destines to fulfill a noble mission.

In 1916 Gunendra Krishna attained the age of discretion and forthwith relieved the executors of Giridhari Lall's estate of their charge. The ability and energy with which young Gunendra began managing his vast estate

elicited the wonder and admiration of all. In 1918 he effected a partition of Mukunda Lall's and Giridhari Lall's properties which previously used to be administered jointly. It was at this time that he did one of those acts of uncommon generosity and self-sacrifice which abound his career. He was entitled to one-seventh share of Mukunda Lall's estate, which was valued at not less than ten lakhs of rupees. He relinquished all claim thereto in favour of his brothers, proving to the world that his heart lay not in riches and that contentment and beneficence, and not greed, was the mainspring of his actions.

He is the worthy son of a worthy father and seems to have inherited all the best traits of Giridhari Lall's character along with his properties. Not only has he not spared himself, in the least, in maintaining his adoptive father's endowments in tact, he, with commendable benevolence and munificence, has made further grants to those institutions with a view to increasing the scope of their beneficence. For improvement of the Gopi Mohan Roy Charitable Dispensary he has placed Rs. 20,000 in the hands of the Government. He has further set up an Indoor Ward attached to the Dispensary at a cost of Rs. 7,500, whose opening ceremony was kindly performed in 1926 by Sir Hugh Stephenson, Acting Governor of Bengal. The Widow Maintenance Fund of his late father was further strengthened by him by a grant of Rs. 4,500.

The claims of the dead, no less than those of the living, are zealously and respectfully attended to by him. The inhabitants of Bhagyakul and the adjoining villages have long been putting up with a serious inconvenience in the matter of burning their dead for want of a good cremation ground, particularly during the rains. Gunendra Krishna has proceeded to remove this, promising to grant Rs. 5,000 for the construction of a good crematorium. He has already placed Rs. 2,000 in the hands of the Bhagya-kul Union Board for this purpose.

A series of bereavements clouded for a time the prospects of all domestic happiness for him. His two wives died in succession, leaving him in charge of three children. He has had to take, under pressure of circumstances, a third wife who takes due care of the children and seems to have completely brought back peace and happiness to an erstwhile unhappy family.

The title of Rai Bahadur was conferred upon him by His Majesty's Government in 1933 as a token of their appreciation of the many acts of public utility done by him.

How to Improve the Relation between the Landlord and the Tenant.

KUMAR BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA,
Paikpara, Bengal.

MY subject to-day is how to improve the relations between the landlord and the tenant. The very title of this article presupposes that the landlords and the tenants were on good terms with each other. But for some reason or other that relation has been changed.

Let us take a brief survey of what had been the condition of the landlord and the tenant and what had been their relations in the past.



Kumar Bimal Chandra Sinha.

When the permanent settlement had not been adopted in Bengal, there was no such well-marked institution of landlordship. Hereditary landlordship or regular aristocracy, as we may call it, had not yet come into being. Lands were settled then on the short lease of one year only. Thus tyranny and oppression over the tenants by their annual landlords in their attempt to make the greatest profit possible within a year, was almost horrifying. The direct result of such a precarious tenure was the famine of 1770 (B. S. 1176), and the ultimate result was the permanent settlement.

With the permanent settlement, a change took place. With the abolition of the system of leasing out estates for a year or five years, property came to be concentrated permanently in the hands of a few landlords. They now became the responsible owners of the land. Being in practical possession of the land, these permanent owners of land came to realise that the welfare of the rayats depended more upon them than on the Government. Thus they gradually woke up to their responsibilities and came to look after the rayats with the seriousness and earnestness of one whose fortune entirely depended on them. Indeed we may feel proud here to mention that the landlords of Bengal acquitted themselves creditably at that time. Not only did they form the aristocracy of wealth but also the intellectual aristocracy of the land, devoting themselves to

the pursuit of art and culture, which is certainly more important than the mere possession of wealth. The house of the landlord was the seat of learning. In recounting the stories of those happy and prosperous days of Bengal, we may mention the classical ceremonies and performances such as 'Dol', 'Durgotsab', 'Kathakata', 'Kabir Larai' and others which are ever associated with the house of a landlord. The village educational institutions received patronage from them; the learned 'Pandits' got help from them and so did the tenants, at their time of need. They spent their money in trying to improve the condition of their tenants—e. g. to build embankments, where necessary, to dig canals, where water-supply is scarce and for such other purposes. And as they really tried to improve the condition of their tenants and above all, as they really loved their tenants, that love was reciprocated by their grateful tenants.

After the first period of British administration in Bengal things began to change again. When western education (of course in its perverted form) began to spread its opiate fumes through the veins of the landholders of Bengal, there came a great degeneration among them. They forsook the eastern simplicity and eastern methods. Being fired with some revolutionary ideas, they broke asunder all the ties of eastern customs and adopted, though unsuccessfully, the western mode of living. They could not grasp the knowledge and spirit of the West but only tried to pick up some of its outward perversions, utterly inconsistent with eastern ideas. The result was that the landlords forsook their native villages and began to reside in cities. Thus the misery of the villages began.

With this change, the back-bone of the villages was broken. The direct touch which the tenants had with the landlord was gone. The patronage which was extended in every direction by the landlord was no more to be found and the rural culture, which had so long remained at a high level, began to break down. It should be always borne in mind that India is not a country of cities and the growth of the cities here does not mean the progress of the whole country. It is the village that constitutes the unit in India. This important fact should be always remembered that the welfare of the villages means the welfare of India as a whole. Thus when the villages of Bengal lost their culture, industries and prosperity and became utterly deserted, the prosperity of the whole of Bengal began to vanish. I do not ascribe this condition of the villages solely to this reason—but certainly the fact that the villages were abandoned by their prominent people, played an important part in the fall of the villages. At the present time almost all the villages are abandoned by their landlords. The collection of rent from the tenants depends entirely upon their officers. These ill-paid officers, however, tax and oppress the tenants to the extreme both for their private ends and for the sake of the landlords who want money badly for pursuing their luxurious pursuits and for maintaining their standard of life, which has been raised to an extra-ordinarily high level on account of their recent migration to cities. The days of

their simple village lives are long gone. The money, which had been so long spent for the benefit of the tenants, is now being spent in luxuries. These luxuries have brought with them extreme pressure on the estates, or in other words, extreme oppression on the tenants. For this reason the good relation, which had so long existed between the landlord and the tenant, has altogether vanished. The tenant, now-a-days, knows not who is their landlord and the landlord also does not care a fig for the welfare of his tenants.

That is how the present situation lies. But with the reawakening, as it is called, of India, both parties have begun to realise that this state of things cannot last for ever. So the landlords have awakened at last. It is a matter of great joy no doubt that they are trying to shake off the gloomy censure that has settled upon them and are making efforts to mark their career with glory and ambition.

So at this juncture, I may be permitted to suggest a few means of improving the relation between the landlord and the tenant. First of all, we may say here that 'back to villages' would be a very necessary step towards this. Though it had been the cry of modern days, still seldom much heed is paid to it. Though unheeded by many, it is, I think, a necessary maxim for the landlords at least. If they do not go back to villages, if they do not reside thereto for some months at least, during a year it is doubtful whether the villages would be able to regain the days of plenty and prosperity soon. Leaving aside the sentimental point of view, the landholders should realise, even from the point of view of pure business, the benefit of going back to villages. This would produce a direct touch between the landlord and the tenant. The landholders would be in a position to know the condition of their tenants and thus the tyranny, so long exercised upon the tenants, may be expected to be stopped. Then again we expect another beneficial result to accrue. Residence in the village would, however, lower down the standard of life and thus would enable the landlords to spend sufficient money for the benefit of the tenants. They may help the villages both with money and grain together with sympathy. Only that they would really try to benefit their tenants, even at a sacrifice of themselves and of their luxurious pursuits. Not only from a sentimental point of view but also from the purely material standpoint of profit, they should realise that they cannot go on with their luxurious pursuits unless their tenants are in a good condition. I am sorry to mention here that this principle is seldom appreciated even now. The landlords, in those hard times should really exert themselves for the benefit of the tenant. Nor is there any reason why these good resolutions should remain confined to the sphere of mere pious wishes. One would not have to go far to translate them into actual practice. A direct contact with the life of the village would at once bring home to the landlord the almost unlimited variety of ways in which his beneficent activities may be directed. Indeed the problem before him will be not how to find but how to make his choice among the multifa-

rious duties which will present themselves to him. It is a well-known fact that the tenants of our country are much worse off as compared with the tenants of other countries and they demand the greatest attention possible of all important men in the country and specially of the landlords. I may suggest here one or two of the many ways in which the landlord can improve the condition of his tenants. Excessive dependence on rainfall has made the condition of agriculture in our country miserable. If the rains fail and consequently the crops fail, the tenants become unemployed, and thus starvation stares them in the face. At this time the landlords may get labourers from among the tenants at a cheap rate and may employ them in re-excavating tanks and wells, building embankments, or in doing some sanitary works, thus providing employment to the tenants and themselves getting business done at a cheap rate.

Again, the tenants of this country are being ruined through indebtedness. The landlord should try to replace the money-lender and his extraordinarily high rate of interest. 12 p. c. or 10 p. c. has been often the general rate of the money-lender. If the landlord cannot altogether give up taking interest, he may lend money at 3 p. c. or 2½ p. c.—the rate of interest he would have got, if he had invested the money in Government securities. Of course to fix a definite rate would be an impossibility. On the whole the landlord should try to lend money to his needy tenants at a low rate of interest, thus saving them from ruin. "Another thing, I think, should not be left altogether unnoticed. The rate of interest for the late payment of rents has been extraordinarily high in Bengal. To the tenant, who can scarcely pay up the rent, this interest at 12½ p. c. is an extreme oppression no doubt. So in order to save the tenants, some enactment should be made, prohibiting this interest at such a high rate. We here appeal to the Government for passing some laws, preventing this rate of interest, which act, we may venture to say, would save the tenants to a great extent." That would certainly pay him in the long run. Thus here is another opportunity of being serviceable.

We may here point out another sphere of activity, in which the landlord may work. Agriculture, as everyone knows, is very backward in this country. Agriculture, based on more scientific principles, is not yet adopted here. So the low productivity of agriculture does not allow the tenants to be happy and prosperous. To remove this state of things, the landlord may start ideal agricultural institutes, where training can be given to the tenants, good seeds and manure can be sold to tenants at a cheap rate. Also various sorts of experiments can be introduced among the tenants. Such sort of institutes would, perhaps, be of great help to the untrained cultivator and in the long run, these institutes would undoubtedly pay the landlord substantially by increasing the productivity of agriculture and thereby improving the condition of the tenants.

So the field of work is pretty large in this country. But the thing

is that the landlords have not yet taken up this part of their work with any approach to earnestness. Thus the key-note of improving the relation between the landlord and the tenant would be a mutual effort to benefit each other. The landlords should earnestly exert themselves for finding out means for the improvement of the condition of the tenants and carry out their wishes into action. They should build embankments, dig canals, excavate tanks, introduce ideal agricultural institutes, establish charitable dispensaries in villages, where diseases are ravaging and try to provide employment to unemployed tenants—and do such other things, by which the tenants are benefited. Above all, the landlord should lower down his high standard of life so that he may be in a position to expend a considerable amount for his tenants. Lastly I mention once more, that the landlord should go back to villages—or at least should have a direct touch with his tenants. At this critical time, the landlord should realise the importance and seriousness of the situation and try to remove the grievances of the people and be a father-like lord to them, as has been the eastern ideal—just as Kalidasa says with reference to a king :

प्रजानां विनयधानात् रक्षणात् भरणाटपि ।
स पिता पितरक्षामां केवलं जग्महेतवः ।

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Nationalisation of Zamindaries

By DR. S. C. Roy.

(II)

THE first article on this subject published in this Journal in December last has attracted the attention of many people. Several newspapers in Bengal and even outside have made editorial comments on the article. The Amrita Bazar, The Advance, The Hindu of Madras, The Ananda Bazar Patrika, The Indian Economist, The Commercial Gazette, The Insurance & Finance Review, The Clive Street and several other prominent papers have

discussed the subject in all its details. I have also received several communications from some important landlords and prominent public men. I did not expect that my scheme should have such a large measure of support. There must be vital differences on an important subject like this; but I am glad to say that from the opinions so far expressed the majority is in support of my scheme. One well-known East Bengal zamindar expressed his feelings in the following words :—

"Out of 3 parties you have mentioned in your scheme, I can undertake to give you consent of 95 p. c. of the zamindars in support of the scheme. We have had enough of

Dr. S. C. Roy

sentimental objection and we have suffered much for the sake of 'Prestige' but the time has come when we must not only think but should decide and act. Your scheme is really the solution of this intricate problem and you may count upon my help and co-operation in your attempts."



Another elderly zamindar said, "Your scheme offers 15 times value of our net paper income. I am sure zamindars will jump at the idea. Many of the zamindaries are being auctioned for Re. 1/- even, for want of buyers and if this economic depression is to last long, I am sure zamindars as a class will cease to exist. So far as I am concerned you offer me 10 times and I will accept it."

I can place several more quotations to prove that the zamindars in Bengal are not as a class against the scheme. The newspaper criticisms were generally limited to the financial aspect of the question and one of the papers raised the very important question of the effect that will be created in the Government Securities market as a result of the circulation of huge amount of Bonds and the paper is of opinion that a rapid reaction will surely bring in a more serious economic situation than at present. It is difficult to foresee the effect of the circulation of the Bonds. It may create a very optimistic situation also and as a result the whole economic outlook may improve. But as my scheme is not to transfer immediately all the zamindaries, the slow process suggested will be a safeguard against any such reaction.

One highly respectable and elderly gentleman is of opinion that apart from many other defects, the scheme, by removing the zamindars will make the lives of the Hindus absolutely miserable. He thinks that the little peace that exists in East Bengal is due to the influence of the Hindu zamindars, and if they are removed, it will be impossible to live in peace or safety. To make an open confession, I have never thought about this point in drawing up my scheme. It was based purely on economic considerations and I could not think from the point of view of any one community. My own idea, however, is that with the progress of education, which will surely receive impetus if my scheme is given effect to, the fears expressed by this gentleman will be gradually diminished. The Government is unable to finance any big scheme of education or sanitation or industrialisation for want of funds and the fundamental idea of my scheme is to increase Government revenue for meeting these needs of the country. We must take a very broad view of things, otherwise a scheme, almost revolutionary in character, cannot be given effect to.

As I have said in the previous article, I did not expect unanimous support to a scheme like this, and among the zamindars there will surely be some oppositionists. One zamindar, an elderly gentleman of repute, told me the other day that my scheme will successfully do away with the landed aristocracy of the country and indirectly help the "Harijan" movement by doing away with class distinction. My esteemed friend, Mr. Sachin Sen, has taken up his powerful pen against the scheme and I have tried to meet his arguments in an article in the Amrita Bazar Patrika. I should like to point out that in my scheme there is no question of forcing the zamindars to accept the scheme. I have suggested that a beginning should be made by those zamindars who will readily accept the scheme. The gradual conversion method will help to maintain the market fluctuations of Government Securities within reasonable limits. Any zamindar, who wants to surrender his rights to the Government, will have to approach the Government and as soon as the proposal is accepted, Bonds of the value of the zamindary will be handed over to him.

As regards other smaller points raised by some of the newspapers and other parties, I may mention here that none of them have objected to the broad principles of the scheme. Nobody denies that the condition of the landlords demands some drastic action. Things cannot be allowed to continue as at present. Whether the socialists can force their policy of nationalisation or not from purely economic considerations, we are to take some initiative. I have said that my scheme is only in its crude form and I expect criticism. I hope I shall receive the valuable opinions of a few more prominent landlords and other interested parties before any further action is taken in this regard.

Matters of Moment

JUTE RESTRICTION SCHEME

The outstanding topic of the month is the scheme of restricting the cultivation of jute announced by the Government of Bengal by means of a *communiqué* issued on the 20th September last. The *communiqué* is accompanied by a Press Note which adds explanatory comments on the chief features of the scheme.

The main features of the scheme are as follows :

(1) The scheme applies only to the crop of 1935. No opinion is expressed nor any indication given of the possibilities of regulating the crop in subsequent years.

(2) The opinion of the majority of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee is accepted, namely, that restriction should be on a voluntary basis and that the measures adopted during the past two or three years for encouraging a voluntary reduction of cultivation should be improved and intensified.

(3) The improvements which the Government propose to introduce are detailed as under :

(a) A percentage of reduction to be prescribed with a view to securing a rise in the price of jute. The percentage will be announced in January, 1935. It is not certain if the percentage to be prescribed shall be uniform for all districts.

(b) A Special Officer will be appointed by the Government of Bengal with the sole charge of the control of jute cultivation. Additional officers will be posted in each of the heavy jute-growing districts to conduct the necessary propaganda, collect materials etc., and in the other districts, the District Officers will do it as part of their duty.

(c) It shall be the aim of the District Jute Cultivation Control Officers to divide the district into 'charges' for each of which a "jute cultivation control charge officer", appointed mostly from non-officials, will be responsible. One of the duties of these officers will be to encourage the cultivators to organise themselves into voluntary associations pledged to the restriction of jute cultivation under the direction of their own headman. This association of non-official agencies with the official will, it is expected, be of great assistance in working the scheme. To make the scheme a success, the entire machinery of the Government in the district will be mobilised, and to make public opinion more effective, mixed committees of officials and non-officials will be formed, to work in close touch with the district officer and the local bodies.

(4) The additional expenditure necessitated by the scheme is estimated to be Rs. 50,000 for which a supplementary demand will be submitted to the Legislative Council at its next session.

(5) The scheme applies, for the present, only to the province of Bengal.

These are the chief features of the scheme as announced by the Government. The following are the points of additional information taken from the Press Note.

Duties and functions of the Special Officer :—The Special Officer will work under the Rural Development Commissioner. His functions, amongst others, will be to supply all relevant information available as to prices, stocks (whether held by mills, presses or in the muffassil), purchases, consumption and requirements both in India and abroad. He will thus be responsible for the preparation and circulation of all the material particulars upon which propaganda for restriction will be based. His advice will be available to all District Officers, and he will act as a co-ordinating authority.

Nature of the propaganda :—The object in view will be to make the propaganda as continuous, intensive and effective as the circumstances of each district allow. The general lines of the work will be laid down by the Government but details to suit local conditions will have to be worked out by local officers under the supervision of District Officers. This will give the necessary elasticity to the scheme.

Voluntary Village Associations :—It is pointed out in the Press Note that village associations of the kind contemplated in the scheme have been organised throughout Japan and have been of the greatest possible service to the cultivators in effecting improvements in crops, methods of cultivation and marketing. In a Supplementary Note to the Report (Majority) of the Bengal Jute Committee, Mr. G. S. Dutt, I.C.S., has elaborately discussed the constitution and functions of the Japanese Agricultural Associations.

The Calcutta Press has so far been critical of the scheme. It is pointed out that since the principle of voluntary restriction has admittedly failed so far as the last three or four years were concerned, the Government of Bengal, instead of persisting with it, should have devised some alternative scheme. The Government, however, will not part with their pet theories against the scheme of compulsory restriction. They say it is impracticable because (i) accurate information about acreage, sowings etc., on which alone a scheme of compulsion can be based, is wanting in this province, (ii) it is practically impossible to get at the millions of jute growers with their scattered holdings and (iii) even assuming that it were possible to work a scheme of compulsory restriction, the cost would be prohibitive.

It is, of course, obvious that for the crop of 1935, at any rate, compulsory restriction is out of the question. But the advantage of the present Government scheme may be taken to get an accurate jute schedule prepared for each of the jute control cultivation charges. There would, no doubt, be still some additional cost, but it would not be prohibitive. The

Village Associations when once they are formed would be of great assistance in the preparation of a list of jute growers, making such a list effective for all time by providing for the issue of licenses, through these Associations, to each cultivator which would be transferable. As regards the total cost of the scheme, through subsidies, compensation etc., it should be remembered that jute is a cash crop of considerable value and a little enhancement of the same over the cost of production would be sufficiently remunerative to finance the scheme. To make the necessary arrangements with the Central Government should present no insuperable difficulty, in case either an excise or an export duty is levied.

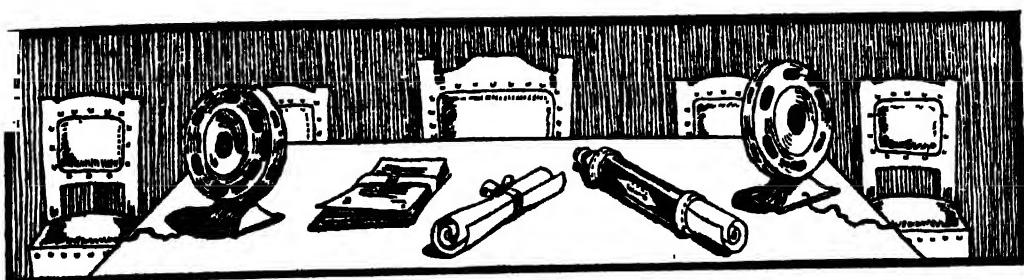
THE LEAGUE GOES AHEAD

There is news about the League of Nations. It is that the U. S. S. R., and Afghanistan have joined the League. Since the withdrawal of Japan and Germany from the League, this is the first time, perhaps, that there has been some concrete evidence of the League's popularity.

As a matter of fact, there was considerable opposition to the entry of the Soviet Republic to the international counsels of Geneva, but weightier considerations have at last prevailed. Without Russia, almost half of Europe will have been out of the League, and when it is remembered that the Russia of 1934 is not the Russia of 1917, the importance of including Russia into the international complex of Geneva becomes self-evident. There is a far weightier consideration in the fact that Russia, with the economic stability that it has already attained, provides a very good market in the world of dwindling trade, market for tea, for cotton, for agricultural machinery and for technical assistance. Trade pacts have been concluded with the U. S. A., Britain and other countries. With France sympathetic (in a diplomatic sense) and Germany eliminated from Geneva, the time was just suitable for Russia to enter the League and thus get international recognition of the communists' right to exist and flourish in a world dominated by capitalists. It is in itself a great ideological triumph for M. Litvinoff.

So far as Afghanistan is concerned, the fact of its joining the League may be regarded as the final evidence of the attainment of political stability by the State. Till recently, it was rent asunder by domestic feuds but the strong arm of a powerful but discerning monarch has restored order and peace and paved the way for further progress. It is now time for her to look beyond her borders, not in the sense that early royal protagonists of Islam used to do but for getting the good will and assistance of the world in the task of reconstruction and to share in the common efforts for the advancement of human welfare and material prosperity. She now becomes part of the world order and she is conscious of that fact.





The All-Bengal Anti-Terrorist Conference

The All-Bengal Anti-Terrorist Conference convened by the British Indian Association met, as previously announced, on the 15th and 16th September last at the Town Hall, Calcutta. Mr. J. N. Basu, M. L. C., presided. There was a record attendance of delegates from all parts of Bengal representing all shades of opinion to record their emphatic protest against the nefarious activities of the followers of the terrorist cult and devise means to stamp out terrorism from our body politic.

Mr. P. N. Tagore, President, British Indian Association, delivered the inaugural address.

He stressed the utter futility of terroristic methods to bring about political advancement or regeneration to a nation struggling for it. He requested the Government to take the people into their confidence, at any rate the leaders of thought and opinion in the country who deplore and condemn the incidents of terrorism as much as anybody else. The relation between the teacher and the taught, he said, ought to be improved and lifted from the mechanical platform to the holy and sacred status of personal contact and relationship. He drew attention to the two serious defects in our educational curriculum. It is not based on religious or moral injunctions and consequently has little value in building up the character of our youths. It is, again, strikingly lacking in education in good citizenship which, he believes, is not opposed to patriotism. "There is no more effective way of combating either terrorism or communism than by laying a broad foundation of knowledge concerning our constitutional government, the corner-stone of education in good citizenship."

On the problem of unemployment in so far as it has a bearing on terrorism Mr. Tagore said :

"There is a general belief that terrorism is the outcome of unemployment. It is difficult to believe that it is wholly the result of unemployment, for our experience shows that most of those who have hitherto been guilty of it are not those who had been affected by the problem of unemployment. They are differently situated. But, undoubtedly, in the solution of the difficult problem of unemployment lies the partial, if not the entire, solution of the terrorist problem. We, Bengalees, are here in our own province, on sufferance. If our clerks are drawn from Southern India, our cooks and servants and mistries from neighbouring provinces, as our drivers and mechanics from Northern India and our Mill-hands from up-country, the Bengali Hindu or Mahomedan has no place outside his home province. In all other provinces we are banned and the doors of unemployment in them all are banged against us. Would you believe, gentlemen, that in the city of Bombay the Commissioner of Police makes it a rule never to issue motor-driving license to one who is not a native of the Presidency, and take it from me that the same rule applies to Madras and to the States whose subjects make their piles in Bengal and in the remotest corners of our province? Gentlemen, if the Governments of other provinces and States encouraged the interests of their provincials and

subjects elsewhere, it was eminently desirable and necessary for our Government to have taken steps to protect ours here more than anywhere else. Go where you like, to the beautiful cities of Rajputana, to the hilly tracts of Central India or in pretty Guzerat and Kathiawar, you find magnificent palaces and other certain indications of un-heard of prosperity in hot, dry and barren lands—all the result of successful exploitation of Bengal. Even now we find the largest employers of labour in Bengal drawing their labour resources from outside the province. And here European concerns could do much to alleviate the rigours of the problem and lead the way. We suggest that the Government should set about remedying this state of affairs without delay, if necessary by legislation. Solution of this problem will undoubtedly render the work you have before you easy of achievement. The country is faced with acute economic problems, towards the solution of which the people feel that little or nothing has hitherto been done."

Concluding Mr. Tagore said : "What is really wanted is a searching of hearts and a determination to boldly face the situation to remedy it, when upon such searching you have discovered where the canker lay. As a humble citizen of the Empire, I will expect my countrymen to boldly lay their grievances before the Government on whom rests the responsibility, if they are true to themselves, to boldly deal with them, not to shield or shelve but expose and punish. And it will further be conceded that if terrorism is found and judged to have a political outlook, the satisfaction of the hopes and aspirations of the people would undoubtedly be an effective antidote. I am glad to think that our Government realises this, and we learn from no less a person than His Excellency Lord Willingdon himself who told us the other day that His Majesty's Government was doing every thing possible to speed up the constitutional reforms so as to satisfy our legitimate hopes and aspirations as citizens of the Empire. Delay in such circumstances worsens the situation no less than an illiberal spirit. In case of India, perhaps, both are equally responsible."

In the course of his presidential address Mr. J. N. Basu, M.L.C., said :

The dangerous character of terrorism as it prevails here is due to a great extent to its being of a political character. Love of home and country is inherent in the human mind almost everywhere. Love of freedom stands on the same basis. The recruiters attempt to pervert these natural impulses. They do not point out what the facts are. Measures and acts of the State are misrepresented and distorted. Instead of the spirit of frank and open criticism the spirit of brooding over a supposed wrong is sought to be developed. The acts of particular members of the State services are held up in such a light as to give rise to hatred. Those that the recruiters work upon are deluded into the belief that there is a short cut to an ideal order of things. Neither the recruiters nor those they influence know what their ideal in fact is likely to be. All they know is that they are aiming at a negation of the existing order of things, but they do not care to give any thought to what will replace the existing order. Instead of the prolonged and steady endeavour in every sphere required to attain progress for our people whether residing in villages or towns, criminal acts of a spasmodic and impulsive character are held out as a real endeavour for national progress. The young are not taught the truth that as in individual life so in national life, there is no short cut to progress but that progress implies long, steady work in spheres of constructive activities, and in the patient removal of difficulties and obstructions. The short cut that is taught is a crime of the most abominable character, the crime of secret murder. Such a path is reprehensible for the attainment of the best of ideals. In the case of terrorists the path leads to nowhere."

Continuing Mr. Basu said :

The evil is one that lurks in our midst. It is our duty to eradicate it. The State can give its powerful help. It will be our duty to co-operate with all working towards the same end. If we do not agree with any measure adopted by the State, it will be our duty to frankly state our objections, while it will be for those carrying on the administration to point out why particular measures are deemed necessary in view of the experience and special knowledge they may possess. The feeling should be strengthened that the State exists for the good of the people, and is not apart from it. State measures may occasionally be felt harsh and severe, but even in individual life health and strength depend upon strict discipline and restrictions. If the spirit behind the acts, however disciplinary it may be, displays the sympathy for the liberties and welfare of the people

that should animate such acts, they are likely to be much more effective than they have been in the past. .

Methods of punishment and of watch and ward have been given a long and extensive trial. While those methods have been of some effect, it must be admitted that they have not succeeded in rooting out the evil. We shall have to devise such means as would make it impossible for the disease to grow and spread.

For that purpose, the youth of the country, particularly students, should be treated with due care. Steps should be taken to brighten their lives and to meet them on the footing of sympathy and attention. As an illustration, I may mention the large student population that come from the country districts to Calcutta, and stay here for several years at an exceptionally impressionable period of the lives. How much attention do those that reside and earn their living in Calcutta or the administrative authorities give to the student population ? What sympathy and friendliness do the students find in these quarters ? The personal touch which leads to mutual regard and the establishment of kindly feelings has not always been present. It is not very desirable that young people who have to stay away from home should live continuously in an atmosphere in which sympathy and kindness are not very prominent.

The ideals which we have always held in the greatest regard should be placed prominently before the youth of our country. Through the long centuries of our history which has sometimes been of sunshine and sometimes of darkness we have developed a culture which we cannot allow to be torn asunder by a few misguided people. A spirit of toleration, a regard for the sanctity of human life, patience and calmness amidst difficulties are factors of our life which we cannot do without. The lives of our great saints and teachers, both Hindu and Moslem, will have been lived in vain, if we throw away the priceless gifts they made available to us. We may lag behind in material predominance and prosperity, but we should cease to exist when we cease to be clean, straight and kindly I earnestly urge upon the youth of the country to pass on untarnished the glorious heritage to which they are the heir.

Kumar H. K. Mitter, President, Sunderban Landholders' Association, was one of the gentlemen who attended and addressed the Conference. He adverted, in the course of his weighty and suggestive speech, to the question of detention without trial and observed as follows :

There are some here who have questioned the advisability of continuing the policy of detention without trial. There is a good deal of confused thinking about this question. It is a common expression that because a person is detained without trial, he must be innocent. The principle of detention as explained in the law is that it is applied to persons "suspected" of connection with terrorism. The suspicion is based on reports. The reports are placed before two judges. They are tested by checks and counter-checks. There may be cases where in the absence of proper cross-examination innocent persons are detained but their number must be few if the Government machinery is to be credited with any honesty. It is said that these persons are not placed on trial because there is no "evidence" against them. This certainly is not the whole truth. Sometimes, Government prefer detention, as they have often said, in order not to expose their informants to the bullets of the terrorists. Then it is made a grievance that the policy of detention is a departure from the ordinary procedure. But emergency times call for emergency measures. Great Britain, the home of liberty, had its Defence of Realm Act which permitted detention on suspicion without even the semblance of an enquiry not to speak of trial, while more recently there have been detention camps brought into existence and even more drastic methods employed in continental Europe. That terrorism has created an emergency of a magnitude unprecedented for our province can certainly not be questioned, for if it were not an emergency of this scale, we would not have perhaps all assembled here from all parts of the province to-day.

The main point about the policy of detention we should remember is that it aims at "prevention" rather than cure. It throws the net over suspected persons, and as improving terrorist crime figures indicate, actually succeeded in breaking up terrorist plots, conspiracies and outrages. Does the detention of a few innocent persons outweigh these material results of this policy ?

Government have often said that while the public dislike the policy of detention without trial, Government themselves do not like the necessity of it. It is entirely up to us to make the policy of detention without trial unnecessary. We must rouse the active conscience of the public against the terrorist pest. We must combine to make the existence of terrorists in society an impossibility. It is only when such a healthy state of affairs is once more restored that we can legitimately expect the doors of the Detention Camps to be thrown open. So long as the public condemn terrorism only as a matter of policy, so long as owing to this state of public opinion terrorists continue to get their recruits, so long as the terrorist organisations, as revealed in the Lebong Case, continue in tact, it is futile to ask Government to give up the policy of detention.

The following resolutions were passed by the Conference at its final sitting :

I. This Conference of all parties and sections of the people of Bengal records its deep abhorrence of the cult of assassination and its emphatic disapproval of the acts of terrorism which have besmirched the fair name of Bengal. It has noticed with extreme regret the alarming growth of this baneful creed of anarchism in Bengal in recent years which is against all Indian traditions, religious, social and political and offers its full co-operation to the Government as indicated in the memorandum annexed to Resolution III for the eradication of this evil which has proved a serious menace to peace and prosperity of the Province and is greatly retarding its political advancement.

II. The Conference suggests that towards that end (i) there should be cordial co-operation between the people and Government and real understanding and unity of purpose between the public and the executive in the adoption of all necessary measures to combat terrorism and that appropriate machinery should be set up so that cases of hardship of ill-treatment suffered by individuals or communities in the course of execution of measures designed to combat terrorism may be brought to the notice of the authorities for redress ; (ii) that measures should be devised so that the authorities concerned having access to the facts and data concerning terrorists, before taking action under the law, may take the natural or local guardians of the youthful suspects into their confidence to enable the latter to take preventive action in time.

The third resolution gave its approval to the annexed memorandum and appointed a committee, with powers to co-opt to give effect to the proposals and suggestions contained therein.

The memorandum embodied a comprehensive and constructive scheme for eradicating the terrorist evil. Dealing with the political aspect of the question, it stated :

"The terrorist movement in Bengal is of political origin. Since its inception its main driving force has been the desire to subvert the established Government in India by violence. Whatever its genesis in the past may have been, it cannot be denied that this movement is partly alive by misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Government policy and action. One of the most urgent need of the hour is organisation of

systematic publicity and propaganda on a wide scale so that this misunderstanding may be removed by a healthy contact between the Government and the people. The terrorist movement had also been helped in no small measure by the unsympathetic and in some cases positively improper conduct of individual Government officers in dealing with the people of the country. It is of utmost importance that Government should not hesitate, as they have done in more instances than one in the past, to take adequate steps against their officers when found guilty of improper action. Further, we consider it important to observe that early establishment of responsible Government in the country may be an effective measure. To treat this province differentially under the forthcoming constitution, as is being urged in some reactionary quarters, will be playing into the hands of the terrorist organisers."

In suggesting educational measures to counteract the evil it urged the need of providing moral and religious education to the students, of instilling into them ideas of discipline and obedience to authority, of opening of educational colonies on the plan of residential institutions with provision of vocational and industrial training with general and cultural education, of establishing healthy and intimate relationship between the teacher and the students, of opening "study circles", providing for education in citizenship and arranging for healthy use of spare hours outside the school.

On the economic aspect of the question the memorandum suggested that considerable improvement in the mental attitude of the youngmen in Bengal towards the British people should be effected by a direct contact between them and the British commercial houses in Calcutta and elsewhere in Bengal and railway administration and companies. It urged upon the Government to announce that recruitment for all the services excepting the All-India services and those for which special qualifications are required should henceforth be limited to persons domiciled in Bengal, to adopt a policy of limited preference for articles produced or manufactured in Bengal and for firms with Bengali capital and management and to draw up a co-ordinated plan for the development of cottage and small industries in co-operation with the District Boards and other local bodies. It requested European businessmen to give more business to Bengali firms and take in more Bengalis as covenanted and uncovenanted officers.

For publicity and propaganda work the memorandum conceived the need of a network of associations and organisations. There should, according to it, be District Committees composed mainly of non-officials, affiliated to a Central Committee in Calcutta. The District Committees should be the executive committees for all non-official propaganda and publicity in the district. There should, besides, be the Town and Union Committees to work under the direction of the District Committee. Suitable methods of co-operation and co-ordination between the District, Town and Union Committees on the one hand, and Government officials on the other, should have to be devised according to local conditions.

Speech of Mr. S. C. Roy Chowdhury, M. L. C., on Terrorism in Bengal

A well-attended meeting of the citizens of Mymensingh was recently held at the Suryakanta Memorial Hall, Mymensingh, under the presidency of Maharaja Sashikanta Acharyya Bahadur, as a part of the all-Bengal drive against terrorism initiated by the British Indian Association. Mr. S. C. Roy Chowdhury, Advocate, M.L.C., delivered an illuminating address on the "Political situation in Bengal with particular reference to the terrorist movement" and elicited applause from all sections of the audience. Below we publish the full text of his speech :



S. C. Roy Chowdhury, M.L.C.

I have taken as my theme a subject which is worrying and perplexing you all. It is a theme which by its complexity and its awful significance is deservedly occupying the uppermost place in public mind in Bengal as is evidenced by the Manifesto of the British Indian Association which bears the signature of our President among other distinguished sons of Bengal. I mean to speak to you, in plain words, how our political situation is being affected by the terrorist movement.

But as a fair and accurate treatment of the subject is impossible without a reference to the source from which the terrorist activities derive their inspiration and with which therefore they are vitally connected, I shall briefly discuss, at first, the question of our national aims and aspirations for edification of our young friends and then show by a chain of reasoning how terrorism as a political weapon is bound to fail in reaching us the goal.

I can assure you, however, that I shall scrupulously avoid controversial politics in my discussions. But at the same time I want to begin by saying that I believe in nothing so much as in human freedom and necessarily I have more faith in the policy of *persuasion and reason* than in the policy of repression when dealing with this class of criminals. A political terrorist—as opposed to an ordinary criminal—is the product of a political situation and is the embodiment of certain ideas and ideals, however wrong and quixotic. If you want to kill opinions and ideas you must create counter-opinions and ideas which like the white blood corpuscles in the human system will rush in to destroy the foreign germs—the surgeon's knife being only the last resort, and sometimes a fatal resort. These counter-opinions and ideas are, again, the result of propaganda and persuasion based on reason and enlightenment. The Government may, and sometimes must, have

their own methods to deal with such situation, but as members of the public our methods must be different and I believe, properly employed, they are bound to be far more effective and permanent in their results

A recent announcement of His Excellency the Viceroy in the Assembly Chamber at Delhi ought to leave no room for doubt on this aspect of the question. Dealing with the abandonment of the Civil disobedience His Excellency remarked—"That happy result I do not attribute so much to the action taken by the Government as to the studied good sense of the mass of the people of India." His Excellency the Governor of Bengal during the recent Police parade at Dacca made the matter more clear in the following words—

"But we must not delude ourselves into believing that the *efforts of official agencies alone can eradicate the evil of terrorism.* These agencies can check the *outward manifestations* of the movement, but they cannot eradicate the poison that is responsible for recruitment to the terrorists cause. That can only be accomplished with the assistance of a *vigorous public opinion, born of the conviction that the future happiness of Bengal will be seriously imperilled so long as the terrorist cult survives* and by the creation, by that common opinion, of an atmosphere which will make it impossible for terrorist ideas to flourish."

Here is therefore a question of persuasion against force—Reason against Fear, Love against Hatred.

OUR IDEAL

To pursue the theme, therefore, our political ideal is National Freedom. I believe, as most of you believe, it is impossible for a nation to rise to the fullest height of growth and development without the fullest possible freedom in the political, social and economic sphere.

It is no longer a question of emotion—it is not even a question of spiritual satisfaction which may go by the board in this age of scientific evaluation of things, but it is a question of *Bread and Butter.*

You cannot even physically live and grow both as individuals and nations unless your national activities are free and unrestrained as the activities of Englishmen or Canadians or Austrians are in their own lands.

Happily on this fundamental point there is no longer any difference between us and the British Government and the British statesmen at home. The Parliamentary announcement of 1917 stated—"Realisation of Responsible Government"—as the goal. You will note it is not partial but full realisation.

This policy was again endorsed in 1931 by a motion of both Houses of Parliament the outcome being the present proposals for constitutional reforms in India.

I will leave aside the qualifying phrases for the present. The policy stated in the broadest terms is the same as any nationalist can desire or aim at. So on this fundamental question there is full agreement between India and England.

Next comes the question : how long will hope deferred be allowed to make our hearts sick ? There is no difference on this question too so far as regards the necessity of a transitional period considering various circumstances. I would ask our young friends to remember that among Indian politicians there is a strange unanimity of opinion that *a transitional period is necessary.* From the Nehru Report down to the discussions in the R. T. C. this has been conceded by the Indian politicians of all grades and classes. So here, too, there is unanimity between the British and the Indian politicians.

Now comes the point of divergence between politically-minded India and the British politicians—divergence which is being manifested in action in various ways by various parties. I presume the activities of our brethren of the terrorist school is mainly due to an *idealistic impatience to reach the goal in the quickest possible time.* Here comes the main theme of my address

THE MAIN THEME

I should be understood as speaking of the political terrorists alone. There is a good deal of confusion in some minds particularly among the official circles, that all acts of terrorism are of the

political brand. All youngmen engaged in dacoities or similar crimes with arms, are branded indiscriminately as political terrorists. In one brief sentence I want to say that those youngmen who are engaged in crimes for their livelihood do not deserve that serious consideration as do those whose aims are higher, namely, political emancipation. Because the former class do not form a permanent menace to the constitution or to the ordered progress of society, they attract no sympathy from any quarter. This class may be easily subdued by methods of *punishment coupled with the solution of the problem of unemployment to be found* by the state and by the more fortunate section of their countrymen.

But far different must be our method of approach in grappling with political terrorists. It is not true to say that all of them too are goaded by poverty or unemployment to engage in terrorism.

The difficulty in dealing with them arises from two reasons :

(1) Though equally misguided and equally involved in crimes of the most repulsive kind—their high aims and aspiration for which they are ready to sacrifice all their earthly ambitions, not to speak of comforts, not unnaturally arouse some pity for them in some minds

(2) They cannot be deterred by the fear of consequences.

If we are to deal with them we must prove to them (A) that their methods instead of taking us to the goal quickly, is rather retarding and impeding our progress and (B) That their methods are so alien and so repugnant to our very nature and traditions that they only isolate themselves from the rest of the society by their insen-sate actions.

(A) Terrorism retards progress To make my first assertion clear, I will assign historical reasons. I have a shrewd suspicion that our young idealists are largely influenced by wrong ideas of the Russian Revolution. For these terrorist methods are entirely alien to our soil. Our past history provides no inspiration or justification to the terrorists

The Russian Revolution is mistakenly thought as the triumph of the terrorist method. Undoubtedly among European countries Russia is the only country where terrorist methods had been freely tried and for long. There were sporadic cases in other continental countries and most of the same probably was the result of private grudge or at any rate of mixed motives. In Russia alone well-organised parties had been working with determined aim to destroy the Czarist system. But what was the success achieved by them ? The Revolutionary party known as *Narodnaya Volya* "People's Will", which acted from 1870, failed to achieve anything and was succeeded by the Revolutionary Social Democrats headed by P. B Axelrod (1883)

This was succeeded by the Russian Social Democratic Labour party (1898) which was split up into the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks (1903). The failure of their methods led to the declaration by Madam Kuspova, the leader of the socialist group—known as the *Credo*, in which it was urged that it was not the business of the working class to engage in political action. In their party organ too—"Rabochaya Deb" they henceforth expressed the belief that *Tsarism could be fought by economic means alone*.

So we find that workingmen did not join the 1905 Revolution led by Father Gapon and it failed completely. Czarism flourished in full vigour till the October Revolution of 1919, and but for the War and, what is more, but for the Monk Rasputin it would have flourished even to this day.

While the terrorist activities there failed miserably to overthrow Czardom—the misery it scattered round, the hard lots of the Siberian exiles are too well-known.

Leaving aside the case of other countries—when the experiment by first batch of Bengal Revolutionaries headed by Barin Ghosh failed ignominiously—that ought to have opened the eyes of all our youths and that path should have been shunned for ever.

That movement arose at a time when there was no declaration of our goal by the British Parliament. English education and English ideas of democratic freedom had created a new yearning in the minds of our intelligentsia. Democratic ideas and a desire for political emancipation were also fostered by the writings of eminent authors like Bankim Chandra and Hem Chandra

and attention was focussed on them by the organisation of the National Congress. The Russo-Japanese War roused a new consciousness in India and a new yearning : powder was applied to it by the measure known as the Partition of Bengal.

The War came then—India stood loyally by England in her most critical period and then came the declaration of 1917, which altered the position for all times. The necessity of violence, if it was felt at any time before, ceased altogether.

If terrorist activities have not succeeded anywhere else—how much less reason is there that it will succeed in Bengal or India for that matter ? We have inherited a tradition, and a civilisation, a culture which refuses to subscribe to the cult of secret assassinations. Our heroes of old scrupulously observed the rules of War and code of chivalry while striking even an enemy. Our greatest epic describes the greatest war which was fought with religious scruples regarding the code of honour. Is the age of epic and the age of chivalry gone for ever that we do not now feel the least compunction even in shooting at unarmed ladies ?

Are we going to change our whole nature ? Are we going to throw to the winds the best elements in our culture and yet thrive and prosper as a nation ? Has not resuscitated India any new message for a stricken world ? Are we going to be mere base imitators ? What shall we then do with our freedom ? I rather hope a free India will bring about moral and spiritual regeneration of the world. Are we not the sons of immortality ? We are not the product of to-day but of countless generations gone before us, and the future also belongs to us.

As I believe the political terrorists to be inspired by the highest of motives, I am not without hope that they will listen to the voice of reason and come back to the fold from their state of isolation and lead us on to the accepted goal by the cleanest and constitutional methods.

I would remind my young audience that before they are led away by foreign ideas they should seriously consider how radically different are the conditions in this country with our warring sects and communities. The greatest need of the hour seems to me to be an understanding and an unity among the various races and communities, unity among the classes and the masses and then only will an understanding between Indians and Europeans be possible.

The potent weapon wherewith to bring about this unity and understanding is love and not hatred, non-violence and not violence. Terrorism in whatever field attempted is bound to create that mental attitude which fills the atmosphere with a spirit antagonistic to unity and love. It is bound to mar the harmony in our political and social relations.

Has terrorism succeeded in winning a single class or community to another ? Do you deny that unification is a condition precedent to the bridging of the gulf that at present exists between Indian public opinion and British public opinion in the matter of quickening the pace towards the full status ?

My simple solution of the political problem is politically conscious India united by an enlightened sense of patriotism where mutual jealousies and selfish aims would find no place. Such in India led by selfless leaders will be a force to which the sturdy commonsense of British people will gladly yield. Are the methods of terrorism likely to achieve this aim ? Are not terrorism tending to a contrary direction by isolating individuals from the mass of the people ?

If the terrorist methods have done no good so far look at the mischief they have done and are likely to do.

(1) They have scattered wretchedness and miseries in many homes in Bengal.

(2) They have ruined many promising youths whose philanthropic and self sacrificing instincts might be utilised in elevating the mass of our people.

(3) They are responsible for the detention on suspicion of many of the finest specimens of our young humanity. Please note 400 of them are now rotting in Deoli (even to-day).

(4) They are indirectly responsible for the utter demoralisation of the mass of our people by installing Police rules and paralysing all our healthy national and social activities. No where do you see to-day—the animation and the enthusiasm during the best of our Swadeshi days.

(5) All young men particularly Hindu youths have now been turned into suspects. The very instrument of our present and future national and social activities are rusting for want of use.

(6) Lack of discipline in our Schools and Colleges.

(7) Bengal at one time the leader in the political and intellectual field of India is falling further and further away from her position of pre-eminence and has become an *object of contempt and ridicule to the rest of India.*

(8) The reactions of these activities on our present and future political position is too great and too apparent to need recapitulation.

Gentlemen the list is not yet exhausted but they are enough to show the incalculable mischief that has been done and are being done through the ignorance of a small section of our countrymen.

I would lastly remind you that we are passing through a very critical time in the History of our National Evolution. Events are moving fast and rapidly. Measures are being forged in the Legislative anvil of the Parliament which will decide the fates of the communities and the races in India for a long time to come. Our great leaders are straining their nerves to come to an understanding with the English people and the British statesmen. Never was a heavier task placed on the statesmen of any country at any time. Are we in Bengal making their tasks easier for them or are we not by these insensate and foolish acts hurling difficulties on their way? Are we not driving every sober and sympathetic element in the British Society into the hostile camp of the die-hards by these actions? Believe me gentlemen, as an armed revolution of the whole of India is both unthinkable and undesirable, *sooner or later we must come to an understanding with the English people for our mutual good and advancement.* England cannot do without India as much as India today requires the assistance of England and the fundamental propositions of freedom and transition being conceded, do you think an understanding is impossible? If it comes it must come as a *result of united moral pressure and not as a result of individual acts of violence here and there.* We should regard every Englishman in India as a guest requiring the protection due to a guest. By following the methods of terrorism *we practically repudiate our great leaders—our Gandhis, our Malavys.* I earnestly plead to our young friends no matter to what school of thought they may belong, no matter whether they are students or men engaged in active politics to give our leader a chance—to give every Englishmen and women sympathetically bent to us, a chance, by withholding the murderous hand of the terrorist. The dictates of the highest sense of patriotism demand of us that *we should not fail at this critical juncture.* It is a duty cast of every one of us—Teachers, students classes and the masses—should we all be found wanting?

Look just what Miss Slade said recently before an English Audience—"The doctrines of Gandhi will sweep over Europe." If it does, will it not be a *day of real pride to us Indian?* Even as the day when Lord Budha was accepted by the rest of Asia including China and Japan as the saviour of humanity, was a day of pride with us. Victory of arms is short lived but the victory of culture lives down ages bringing worship from millions beyond your own borders. Let Bengal be not a party to dimming the lustre of a Budha or Chaitanya.

FOR SILK GARAD

INDIAN SILK KUTHI

* 63, CORNWALLIS STREET, CALCUTTA. *

Activities of Landholders' Associations

THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

THE British Indian Association is the oldest political association in Bengal. It represents the sober and vested interests of the country. In recent years, it has done incalculable service to the landholding community. When the Simon Commission recommended the abolition of the special landholders' seats in the reformed legislatures, it was the British Indian Association which took up the cause of the landholders. The Association organised an All-India Landholders' Deputation on Lord Irwin in 1930 urging on His Excellency the imperative need of protecting the Permanent Settlement and of widening, far from abolishing, the landholders' seats in the legislatures. Lord Irwin felt the justice of the claim. The British Indian Association then prepared a reasoned representation on the recommendations of the Simon Commission on behalf of the landholders of India, which did go a great way in influencing the decisions of the Government of India. The Government of India in their despatch supported many of the standpoints of the British Indian Association and recommended the continuance of the landholders' seats in the legislatures. The British Indian Association did not stop at that. It was very watchful to see that landholderers' claims and viewpoints were placed at the Round Table Conferences. Before the Lothian Franchise Committee the British Indian Association, on behalf of the landholders of Bengal, submitted a representation which elicited admiration from many members thereof. The British Indian Association also gave evidence, as a result of which the continuance of the existing seats for the landholders was recommended. Before the Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, the British Indian Association gave evidence through the Maharajadhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan and the Memorandum of the Association, in the language of a member of the Committee, contained very "weighty considerations" in support of the Permanent Settlement. The Committee were impressed with the case of the landholders. It would thus appear that the recommendation of the White Paper in favour of the continuation of the existing special seats for landholders was the direct upshot of the insistent efforts of the British Indian Association. The landholders of Bengal can take legitimate pride in the successful efforts of the Association.

The British Indian Association also carried on a crusade against the iniquity of the Meston Settlement and it submitted a well-reasoned representation to the Government exposing the iniquity and wrongs done

unto Bengal. The Association claims that it did its part well in preparing a case against the Meaton Settlement which is now condemned on all hands.

The British Indian Association felt the need of a common platform for the landholders: it thought that the landholding interest would gain strength and cohesion if a common platform could be created for discussing common needs and grievances. With this end in view, the Association organised the first session of the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference last year and it has proposed to continue such Conferences year after year. For common united action on behalf of the landholders of Bengal, the British Indian Association is pooling its best energies and resources.

The Association in its work has felt that the country is awash with prejudices against the landholding community and the prejudices are traceable to crass ignorance. The approach to the solution of the land problems is covered by a jungle of wrong ideas. The British Indian Association took upon itself the arduous task of scattering away the fog of misunderstanding by the light of knowledge. It has encouraged the publication of literature placing the case of the landholders and tenants in an unprejudiced way. The Association feels that it is one of its sacred tasks, and in fact, uninformed criticisms are the worst obstacles to the harmonious development of all the component parts of the country. To bring about informed public opinion on matters affecting the landholders and tenants is a very difficult task, especially in the days when catching wrong ideas travel with much more speed than the well-tested truths. The Association has furthermore felt that the absence of the placing of their case before the public has harmed the landholding community greatly and the Association is doing all its best to blot out the reproach of indifference.

The economic crisis of the country was of grave concern to the British Indian Association. The two partners, landholders and ryots, in the business of agriculture have been most hard hit and the Association did not miss any opportunity to lay before Government their grievances and to suggest remedies.

The legislations affecting the landholders and ryots receive criticisms at the hands of the Association. In the Bengal (Rural) Primary Education Bill and the Cess Amendment Bill, the sincere efforts of the British Indian Association in offering constructive criticisms and influencing the attitude of the Government in a way conducive to the best interests of the country are to be remembered gratefully.

It was the British Indian Association which had to mobilise All-Bengal public opinion against the cult of terrorism, besmirching the fair name of Bengal. On the 6th of June last, it organised a Conference to condemn terrorism and devise ways and means of checking it. A Committee was appointed which carried on its work under the auspices

of the British Indian Association. Then a provincial Anti-terrorist Conference was called on the 15th and 16th of September which appointed a Committee to proceed on with a chalked-out programme. The Conference was the first attempt on an All-Bengal scale to condemn terrorism and to adopt a programme to root it out. The British Indian Association in organising and mobilising public opinion against terrorism discharged a very laudable and difficult task, a task which was not easy for other Associations to do. This is an eloquent testimony to the work of the Association.

The purpose of this writ-up is not to catalogue the activities, heavy as they are, of the Association : it is to show only some of the important tasks that the Association has performed with credit in very recent years. All these facts go to show that the British Indian Association is the premier institution in Bengal and the interests of the landholders and of those who stay in the society as a bulwark against disorder and chaos are safe in its keeping. The Association, 83 years old, which has a proud past, is maintaining a glorious career and its brilliant records of work justify the eminent position which the Association holds in the public life of Bengal.

AGRA PROVINCE ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION, ALLAHABAD

Activities during 1934-34.

The Agra Province Zamindars' Association, Allahabad had the proud privilege of entertaining His Excellency Capt. Nawab Dr. Sir Mohammad Ahmad Sayed Khan, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., M. B. E., LL. D., of Chhatari, as Governor of the United Province on the 10th November 1933. The occasion was an unique and happy one, as our province, for the first time, had an Indian appointed as Governor, and that Indian luckily happened to be one of ourselves, viz. our own Vice-President. Practically all the members of the Association, as well as the prominent local gentry attended the function. After the presentation of the Address, the Association was at Home to His Excellency, which function was a great success.

The 3rd Agra Province Zamindars' Conference was held at Aligarh under the Presidentship of Nawab Sahib of Chhatai. This Conference was a greater success than its predecessors and there was a real enthusiasm which was proved by the deliberations and the number of members attending the Conference. The chief work, however, done by the Conference was to accept a resolution about organising a zamindars' party, moved by Major D. R. Ranjit Singh, O. B. E. etc. Honorary General Secretary of the Agra Province Zamindars' Association, Allahabad. The Conference after accepting the idea appointed a sub-committee to that effect and the sub-committee first time met at Allahabad and then at Nainital, and the National Agriculturists Party, which has been so successfully launched, is the net result of this far-sighted move on the

part of the Association. The very fact that the Association of Oudh, has not only adopted but practically accepted the programme of the Agra Province Zamindars' Association in *suo motu*, is a big certificate to our Association and to the National Agriculturists Party, which is nothing but an off-spring of this Association in the true sense of the word. The only difference between the two seems to be the course adopted by the Oudh National Agriculturists Party which instead of claiming a separate identity from the British Indian Association, is working directly under its auspices.

The Debt-Legislation which has been receiving the serious attention of the zamindar community and which has been on the Council anvil for some time aroused a keen interest in the Association which has been doing its best to help in its passing in the Council. It is rather unfortunate that this important legislation has again been postponed, and the Association is earnestly endeavouring to prevent its further postponement.

Khan Sahib Molvi Mohammad Hasan, Machhishahar, District Jaunpur, one of the Vice-Chairmen, drafted a most useful scheme for the liquidation of the zamindars' debt, which was placed before the Managing Committee of this Association, in one of their meetings during the last year and according to their resolution on the subject, the scheme was circulated to all the members of the Managing Committee for opinion. After the opinions were received it was sent to the Government together with the views received from the members, for necessary action.

The Association was consulted and its considered opinion was sought on the following matters :

- (a) G. O. re : alteration of the Money Bond by Ram Babu Saxena,
Director of Publicity & Reforms, U. P.
- (b) G. O. re : Reserve Bank of India Bill.

Model Rules were prepared by the office for the guidance of the District Zamindars' Associations, affiliated to the Agra Province Zamindars' Association, Allahabad, and circulated to all the members of the Managing Committee for their opinion. The District Zamindars' Association of Azamgarh was duly affiliated with the Agra Province Zamindars' Association.

The most important of the various tasks undertaken and completed by the Managing Committee during the year under report was the revision of the existing rules and regulations of the Association, for which a sub-committee was appointed under the presidency of the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf Kt., Chairman of the Managing Committee. This sub-committee first met on the 10th November, 1933, at Allahabad and then on the 18th of March, 1934, at Lucknow. The recommendations made by this sub-committee in its two sittings were placed before the Managing Committee, according to whose resolution on the subject, copies of these revised rules have been circulated to all the members of the General Body for information.

The Association unfortunately became involved in a litigation in connection with the election of representatives on the Court of Wards, U. P. The other litigation that the Association had to face was brought on by Mr. Faiyaz Khan of Agra who contended the validity of the permanancy of the membership of this Association and refused to pay on the ground of his having resigned. The case was decided against the Association by the Munsif of Agra and an appeal is pending.

During the year under report the following new scholarships were awarded :

A scholarship of Rs. 30 a month was awarded to one Mr. R. S. Chaudhari, a research scholar in the Benares Hindu University, who is doing a most useful work in Agricultural botany and his knowledge and researches, it is believes, would be of great asset for the zamindar community.

Eight new scholarships of Rs. 20 a month were awarded to the following candidates :

1. Thakur Karan Singh of Gorakhpur.
2. Chandra Prakash of Azamgarh,
3. Mohammad Mohafiz Ali of Jaunpur,
4. Hanuman Prasad of Ghazipur,
5. Aditya Naraiu Misra,
6. Bhan Pratap Singh of Aligarh,
7. Kanahiya Singh of Ghazipur,
8. Husain Ahmad of Fatehpur,

while 16 scholarships have been continued. The stipend of Raja Sahib of Argal has also been continued. The report of the District Magistrate and the Collector about his educational progress has been satisfactory.

A sum of Rs. 50 was contributed to the Agricultural Association, Allahabad, which holds a very useful demonstration every year during the Magh Mela.

A new feature introduced in the award of scholarship this year was the appointment of a sub-committee (by the Managing Committee) who met and examined each application carefully and unanimously submitted their recommendations which were accepted by the Managing Committee.

The General Body met twice during the year under Report. The Annual General Body meeting was held on the 10 November 1933, while, a special meeting of the General Body was held on the 24th of January, 1934, which was presided over by the Senior Vice-President viz. the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf. Generally speaking, the attendance was satisfactory during the year under report, which is a very good sign for the future. Four Managing Committee meetings were held on 15th October, 1933, 24th January, 1934, 31st March, 1934 and 4th August, 1934 respectively.

The following sub-committee meetings were also held during the year under report :—

1. Rules Revision Sub-committee meeting held on 23rd January, 1934.
2. 2nd Rules Revision Sub-committee, held on 18th March, 1934.
3. Scholarship Sub-committee meeting held on 27th July, 1934.

THE MADRAS LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

Annual Report for the year 1933-34.

The number of members at the beginning of the year was 68. There were 5 new admissions and 1 death. The total number, therefore of members at the close of the year was 72.

The total receipts of the income of the Association during the year amounted to Rs. 5,955-10-3 of which Rs. 5,378-4-0 was received as annual subscriptions, Rs. 361-12-0 as rent for Pentland Hall and Rs. 215-10-3 towards interest on Government Bonds. The total expenditure amounted to Rs. 4,700-8-3.

There were four meetings of the Association in the course of the year.

The Association entertained His Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Willingdon at a Garden Party when His Excellency visited Madras last December.

The amendments to the Madras Estates Land Act containing important changes affecting landholders were passed by the Madras Legislative Council in the course of the year and the Association took an active part in putting forward the landholders' case to various members of the Council by supplying detailed memoranda on the amendments. It is to be noted with satisfaction, that while containing no revolutionary changes, the Estates Land Act, as it is at present amended, goes a long way to remove the various defects found in the working of the Act of 1908 and for securing amicable relations between landholders and the tenants.

Office-bearers for the year 1933-34.

President—Lt. Col. Sir The Maharajah of Venkatagiri, K. C. I. E., M. L. C.

Vice-Presidents—Capt. the Raja of Parlakimedi, M. L. C.; The Hon'ble the Rajah of Bobbili, M. L. C.; The Rajah of Jeypore; The Rajah of Sivaganga.

Members of the Executive Committee—The Rajah of Challapalli; The Rajah of Ettayapuram, M.L.C.; The Kumara Rajah of Venkatagiri, M.L.C.; The Zamindar of Idaiyakottai; The Zamindar of Telaprole; Mr. G. Krishna Rao, Jaghirdar of Myleripalayam; and Mr. G. Ramakrishna Row, B. A., B. L., Kumara Zamindar of Pamulapadu.

THE ORISSA LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

Annual Report for the year 1933-34.

In view of the economic depression and great fall in the price of paddy, the main produce of the country, and the difficulties of tenants and landlords to pay the rents and revenues respectively and of the large estates having been brought to sale for arrears of revenue, the Association submitted a memorial in April to His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa praying for extension of time to pay the revenues and remit all penalties and process fees; and to discontinue the practice followed in rent courts in Orissa requiring the printing of sale notices in newspapers of holdings brought to sale for arrears of rent for even small amounts, as the practice was not in conformity with any provision of the Orissa Tenancy Act and as it added to the burden of poor tenants and also of landlords. The Government replied in September that as regards the first request the Government decided to leave the matter to the discretion of the Collector and the Commissioner to deal in a considerate spirit "with particular cases of general hardship" and as regards the second prayer the Government understood that the law gave the courts discretion in the matter and that such notices were only published in important cases.

The sanction of Government was received in March to the extension of time for one year, i. e. up to the end of March, 1934, for application being filed for the opening of separate accounts compulsorily closed at the settlement without payment of court and process fees.

The Association requested the Government of India and the Joint Parliamentary Committee to invite the Raja of Khallikote and Athgada to give evidence on behalf of the Association and especially on the question of boundaries of the new Orissa Province. The Association submitted its opinion on the questionnaire of the Orissa Committee constituted to enquire and recommend on the administrative problems incidental to the creation of the Orissa Province; and also on the several Bills introduced in the Legislative Assembly and in the Provincial Legislative Council.

After the unprecedented high flood in August 1933 some members of the Association met the Collector of Cuttack and submitted a representation through the Collector praying for suspension and remission of rents and revenues payable for the November Kist of 1933 and April Kist of 1934 and postponement of sales of estates and stay of certificate proceeding for realisation of cesses in the flooded areas and remission of penalties and process fees. As a result of this, sales of estates in those areas were postponed and payment of revenues was suspended and the Collector remitted penalties and process fees. The District Flood Relief Committee was formed with the Collector as Chairman and funds were raised and the Collector did his best to organise relief operations in the affected areas. After a prolonged enquiry in every village remissions of revenues for small amounts were sanctioned after several months.

The Association presented an address to its first President Raja Sir Rajendranarain Bhanja Deo for the honour of knighthood conferred for the first time upon a zamindar of Orissa.

In view of the coming constitutional changes in India it has been decided to introduce such changes in the constitution of the Association as would suit the altered conditions, to reorganise the Association in order to widen its scope of work and influence and to place it on a sound financial basis.

Office-bearers for the year 1933-34.

President—Raja Sir Rajendranarain Bhanj Deo of Kanika was President of the Association since its formation in 1909 and continued to be President till his nomination as a member of the Executive Council of the Government of Bihar and Orissa when he resigned and Raja Saheb of Madhupur was elected President.

Vice-President—The previous Vice-Presidents are all dead except Babu Ganeslal Pandit who was elected in place of his father Babu Beharlal Pandit; Mr. S. M. Bose, Bar-at-Law, Calcutta, of the Rattan Estate was elected in place of his father Babu Jogendra Nath Bose.

Joint Secretary—Babu Baikunthanath Dutta.

Asst. Secretaries—Babus Shamsundar Bose and Gopalchandra Paharaj.

Secretary—Babu Banbehari Palit.

Members, Executive Committee—The present living members are Babus Janakinath Bose, Brajsundar Das and Baikunthanath Dutta.

E. B. LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION, DACCA

Report for the year 1931-33.

With the close of the year 1933, the E. B. Landholders' Association has completed the 54th year of its beneficent existence. The period under review has been marked by withering economic depression which has brought the landed classes to the verge of extinction. The number of Estates that has so far been put up to auction sale for default in payment of Revenue is a shocking reminder of the darker days ahead. The situation with which the landholders and tenants are faced at the present moment baffles the imagination of even a robust optimist. I will deal with the subject later.

The object of this Association has always been to safeguard the interests of the zamindars and the tenants. The Association has the proud privilege of offering its considered opinion on matters of administrative, legislative and public importance and is recognised by Government as one of the premier Associations in the Province.

In 1931, the Association formed an organisation called the Jute Crop Restriction Committee for the District of Dacca to carry on propaganda work in co-operation with the Central Committee at Calcutta. The efforts of the Committee were not altogether fruitless in as much as the out-turn of jute was some what less than in previous year.

The Association urged upon Government the necessity of affording relief to the landholders against the prevailing economic distress, and in August 1931, a deputation consisting of the leading members waited upon His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and requested His Excellency to extend the protection of the Court of Wards to the deserving proprietors of Estates.

The Association recorded its strong condemnation of the anarchical outrage perpetrated on the high officials of Bengal and denounced the civil disobedience movement and the campaign against the payment of taxes.

An address of welcome was presented to His Excellency Sir John Anderson, P. C., G. C. B., G. C. I. E. Governor of Bengal, on the occasion of his first visit to Dacca in August 1932. Thus an opportunity presented itself of ventilating some of the real grievances of the landholders and the reply given by His Excellency although not reassuring was by no means unsympathetic.

The Committee of the Association submitted a Memorandum to the Bengal Retrenchment Committee and pointed out how economy could be effected without impairing efficiency in the different branches of administration and the Joint Secretary had the honour of appearing before the Committee to give evidence.

An emphatic protest was recorded against the inadequacy of representation provided for the landholding community of Bengal on the Provincial and Central legislatures under the white paper scheme.

The Committee strongly condemned on several occasions political outrages in general and the dastardly attempt on the life of Mr. C. G. Grassby, Additional S. P., D. I. B., Dacca and other Government Officers.

The Association brought to the notice of Government the deplorable condition of the landholders on account of non-realisation of rents and the abnormal increase in the cesses in the districts of Pabna and Bogra as a result of the Cess Revaluation and requested them to undertake the revision of the last assessment.

Among the other important measures that engaged the attention of Government was the Bengal Pasture Bill, the Patni Taluq Regulation Bill, the Bengal Wakfs Bill and the Bengal Cess Bill.

The year 1933 was worse than the preceeding year from the commercial and economic points of view and reports of many estates being advertised for sale for default in payment of Revenue and Cesses were frequently received. The slump in Jute trade continued without any sign of abatement.

The Association again recorded its protest against the White Paper proposals so far as the landholding community was concerned and urged better representation on both the houses of the Provincial Legislature by increasing the number of seats.

During the period under report, the Association provided facilities for speedy realisation of landlords' fees from the Dacca Collectorate by authorising two of its members to withdraw the same on their behalf as the Mymensingh Landholders' Association had done.

A very pleasant function was organised by the Association to bid farewell to Mr. H. Tufnell Barrett, I. C. s., Offg. District Magistrate of Dacca on the eve of his departure on leave from Dacca in March, 1933. Mr. Tufnell Barrett was a popular and tactful officer and his departure was a distinct loss to Dacca.

The years under report were marked by all round activities on the part of the Association. Government was moved to give legal facilities to the landholders for the realisation of rent from the tenants by means of the Certificate Procedure and to introduce legislation providing for the automatic ejection of a tenant from land in default of payment of rent for a specified period.

The Association also took an active interest in the provincial affairs of the landholding community and sent a representative to the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference held in Calcutta on the 13th August, 1933.

The economic situation of the landholders has reached its worst phase and the zamindars have been the most affected. The disinclination on the part of the tenants to pay their dues is a matter of serious concern to all. Unless the rules regarding the application of the Provisions of the Public Demands Recovery Act and of section 158A of the Bengal Tenancy Act are relaxed and preliminary settlement for the purpose of bringing the Records up-to-date which is a condition precedent to the grant of the power of realising arrears of rent by the certificate procedure is not made obligatory, this system of "speedy" realisation will not be taken advantage of by the landholders owing to the cost involved. It is not possible for them to deposit in advance the cost of preliminary settlement which invariably reaches an abnormal figure. It may, however, be possible for the zamindar concerned to pay the cost if he is allowed to do so gradually with the improvement in collections effected by this speedy method.

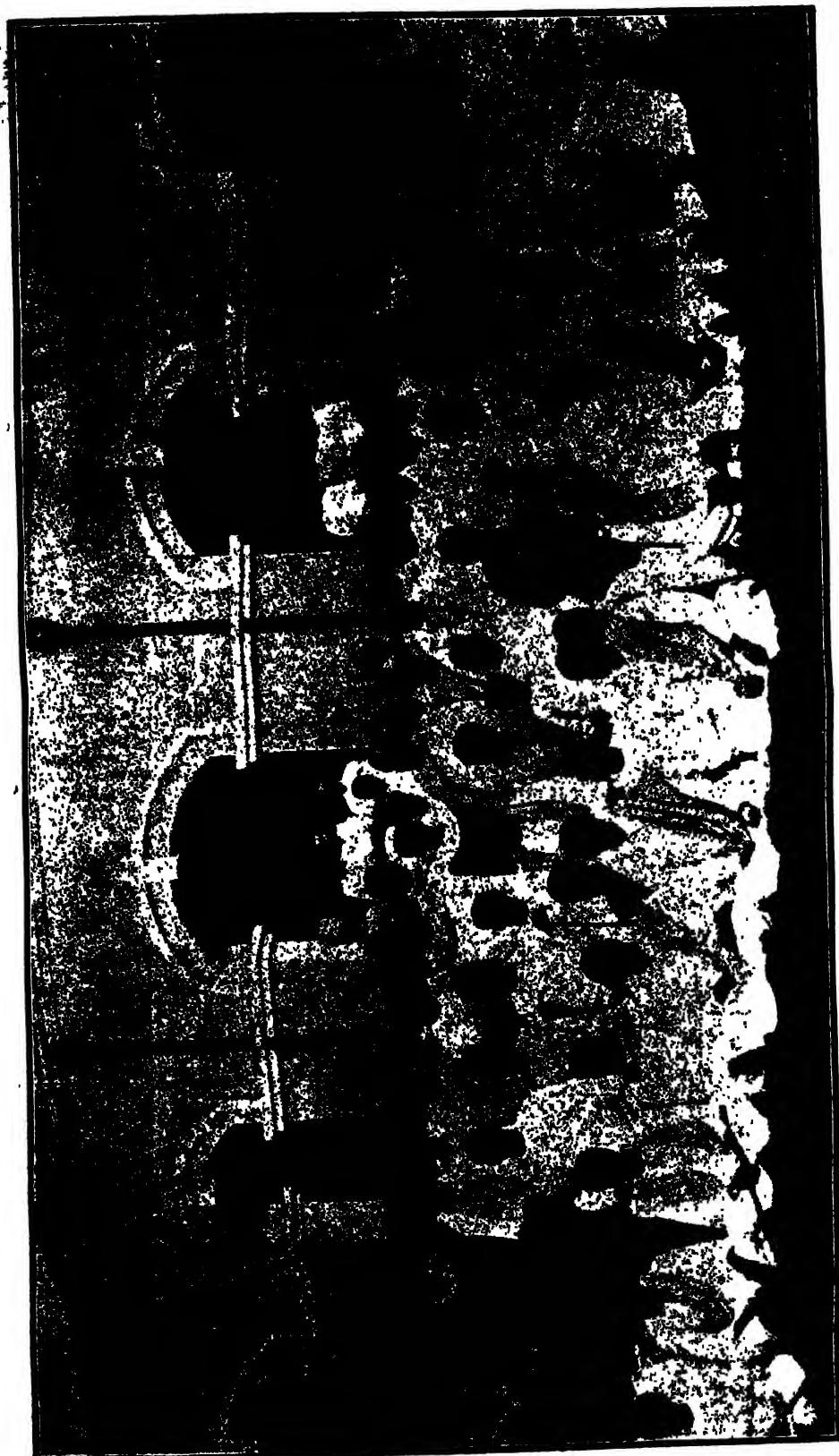
The Permanent Settlement is no longer the sacrosanct institution that it once was. One legislation after another has deprived the landholders of the last vestige of the rights they had been enjoying since 1793 and on the top of this the economic depression has given it a *coup de grace*. In view of the altered conditions, therefore, many of the zamindars will perhaps desire to be relieved of what has become a burden—a veritable nightmare—and a source of constant anxiety to them.

Office-bearers for the year 1933-34.

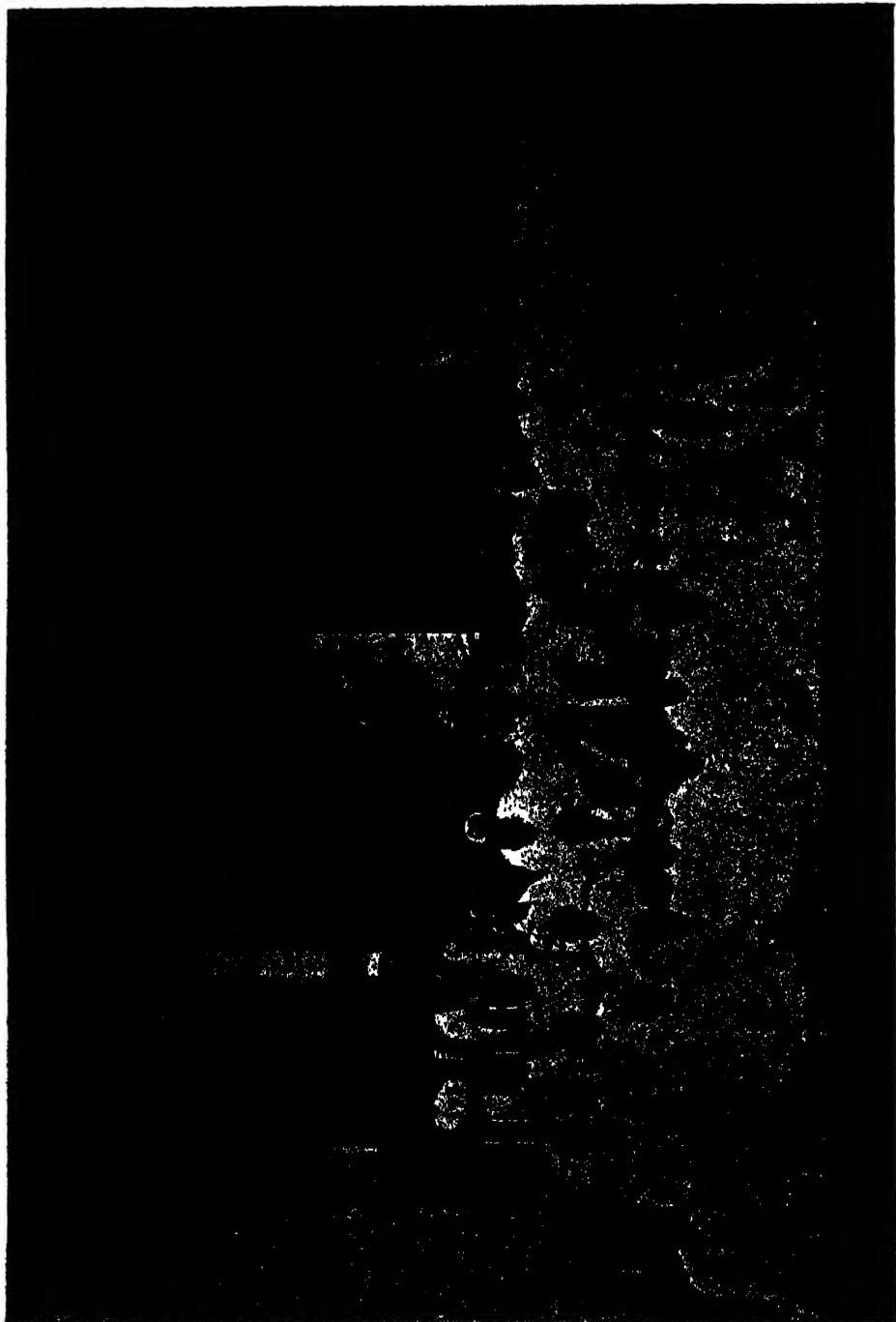
President—The Hon'ble Maharaja Jagadish Nath Roy of Dinajpur.

Vice-Presidents—The Hon'ble Lt. Nawab Khwajah Habibulla Sahib ; The Hon'ble Sir Khwajah Nazimuddin, K. C. I. E ; The Hon'ble Raja Sir Mammathanath Roy Choudhury, Kt, of Santosh ; Maharaja Sashi Kanta Achurjya ; Kumar Ram Narayan Roy

Gathering at the First Annual General Meeting of Nymensingh Landholders' Association.



Second Annual General Meeting of Mymensingh Landholders' Association.



of Bhowal ; Babu Brojendra Kishore Roy Choudhury, Gouripur, Mymensingh ; Kumar Promathanath Roy of Bhagyakul, Dacca ; Khan Bahadur Moulvi Choudhury Kazimuddin Ahmed Siddiky ; Nawabzada Khan Bahadur K. M. Afzal, M.L.C.

Secretary—Babu Ananda Chandra Roy.

Joint Secretary—Rai Keshab Chandra Banerjee Bahadur, M.L.C.

Treasurer—Babu Dharendra Chandra Roy.

Asst. Secretary—Babu Dwijesh Chandra Pakrashi, M. A., B. L., Advocate.

Auditors—Babu Ramanath Das ; Babu Sudhantha Bhushan Paul, B. L.

Members of the Executive Committee—The Hon'ble Babu Jagadish Chandra Banerjee ; Rai Satyendra Kumar Das Bahadur, M. L. C. ; Khwaja Shahabuddin Sahib ; Babu Suresh Chandra Pakrashi ; Babu Jogesh Chandra Chakravorty ; Babu Gokul Chandra Roy ; Babu Jogesh Chandra Das ; Babu Jogendra Lal Roy Choudhury ; Babu Amulya Mohan Roy, M. A., B. L. ; Babu Ajit Kumar Das ; Babu Dwijesh Chandra Roy Choudhury ; Babu Nripendra Narayan Roy Choudhury ; Hemendra Narayan Banerjee ; Babu Sailendra Mohan Sen ; Babu Khagendra Lal Bysack.

MYMENSINGH LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

The Association was formally inaugurated on the 21st February, 1926 in a conference of the zamindars and talukdars of the District of Mymensingh, under the presidency of Dewan Abdul Alim of Itna. It had an auspicious beginning with the Maharaja Sashikanta Acharyya Bahadur as President, the Maharaja Bhupendra Chandra Singh Bahadur, Hon'ble Raja Manmatha Nath Rai Chowdhury of Santosh, Dewan Abdul Alim of Itna, Babu Brojendra Kishore Rai Chowdhury of Gouripur and Rai Charu Chandra Chowdhury Bahadur of Sherpur as Vice-Presidents, Babu Brojendra Narayan Acharjee Chowdhury of Muktagacha and Surendra Nath Sen as Secretaries and sixteen prominent zamindars in the Executive Committee.

Almost the first item of business to which the Association addressed itself was to record an emphatic protest against the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Bill (1929) as it was convinced that the bill while failing to remove any of the existing disadvantages of the landholders, would have the effect of still further curtailing their rights and give rise to endless litigation between the landlords and tenants. It carried on a strenuous propaganda in favour of its own views among the landholders of Mymensingh and other districts of Bengal and communicated its views to the Government of Bengal and the members of the Executive and Legislative Councils. The bill, as the public are well aware, was subsequently passed, but the Association has the satisfaction of having succeeded in proposing and piloting, through its representatives and friends in Council, a number of amendments in the interest of landholders and tenants.

The Association may reasonably feel proud of its achievements in the matter of settling disputes and differences between landlords of the district that had resulted or were likely to result in legal actions. Through a duly constituted board of arbitration it has settled, among others,

(a) a boundary dispute between the Golakpur and the Muktagacha Eight-anna Estate which had been the subject matter of a civil suit and involved the parties in an expenditure of about a lakh of rupees, (2) a title suit relating to a small plot of land between Muktagacha Eight-anna Estate and the Estate of Mr. Profulla Kumar Choudhury and others of Kanihari, (3) differences culminating in a criminal suit between the zamindars of Muktagacha and the Maharani of Puthia. Beside saving the parties from financial loss of several lakhs of rupees, it has restored amicable and friendly relations among them.

A rescue home for the housing and training in useful activities, of helpless and unfortunate women who, victims either of their own indiscretion and folly or of criminal lust of others, find themselves outside the protective fold of society, has been set up at Mymensingh under the auspices of the Association. Sj. Gopaldas Choudhury, zamindar, Sherpur and a member of the Association, has kindly donated a sum of Rs. 20,000 to it.

The Association has recently instituted a department for withdrawal of transfer fees which are credited to the landlords in the District Collectorate and many thousands of rupees have so far been withdrawn through it by members and non-members alike by executing powers of attorney in its favour and paying a small fee for the service. Thanks are specially due to the District authorities who have kindly arranged for the withdrawal of the Court of Wards' fees through it and facilitated its work through the Collectorate.

The Association early recognised the need of the establishment of land mortgage banks to extend financial help to the landlords and tenants of Bengal which being a predominantly agricultural and jute-growing province has been severely hit by the precipitous fall in the price of jute and other commercial agricultural products. It was largely instrumental in bringing about an informal conference of the prominent landholders of Bengal on the question of land mortgage banks for zamindars, which met last year at Calcutta. The matter was fully discussed later in the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference which was held under the auspices of the British Indian Association and a proposal was duly recorded therein for the early institution of such banks.

In the last (second) Annual General Meeting of the Association which was held in April, 1933, the following office-bearers were elected :

President—Maharaja Sasikanta Acharjee Bahadur.

Vice-Presidents—Maharaja Bhupendra Ch. Sinha Bahadur, Sj. Brajendra Kishore Roy Chaudhury, Sj. Pramode Chandra Roy Chaudhury, Dewan Abdul Alim, Sj. Heramba Chandra Chaudhury, Sj. Gopaldas Chaudhury, and Kumar Nagendra Kishore Roy Chaudhury.

Secretaries—Maharaj Kumar Sitansukanta Acharjee Chaudhury, Sj. Dhirendrakanta Lahir Chaudhury, Sj. Kshitish Chandra Chaudhury, and Sj. Surendra Nath Sen.

Asst. Secretaries—Sj. Salilkumar Acharjee Chaudhury, Sj. Jibendra Kishore Acharjee Chaudhury, Sj. Sushilprasad Lahir Chaudhury, Sj. Bimalkanta Roy Chaudhury, Sj.

Arun Chandra Sinha Bahadur, Sj. Himesh Chandra Chaudhury, Sj. Birendranath Chakraborty Chaudhury, and Sj. Subodh Chandra Gupta Bakshi.

Members of the Executive Committee—Sj. Mahim Chandra Roy, Sj Atul Chandra Chakraborty Chaudhury, Sj. Satish Chandra Roy Chaudhury, Sj. Debendra Nath Sanyal, Sj. Sudhindra Chandra Sinha Bahadur, Sj. Rajendrakumar Ukil, Sj. Benoy Bhushan Nag, Sj. Satyendra Mohan Chaudhury, Rai Sasadhar Ghose Bahadur, Lt. Syed Md. Hossain Chaudhury, Nawabzada Hasan Ali Chaudhury, Sj. Jyotish Chandra Chaudhury, Kumar Harendra Kishore Roy Chaudhury, Sj. Dinanath Chaudhury, Sj. Dharendra Chandra Chakraborty, Sj. Kamaleswari Prasad Chakraborty, Sj. Pran Kumar Chakraborty, Sj. Surendra Prasad Lahiri Chaudhuri and Kumar Nrisinha Kishore Acharyee Chaudhury.

Auditor—Sj. Jatindra Nath Majumdar.

U. P. ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION, MUZAFFARNAGAR

The United Province Zamindars' Association, Muzaffarnagar, was founded in 1896, by the late Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Lala Nihal Chand, a premier Rais of Muzaffarnagar. Since its inauguration it has been making strenuous endeavours for the promotion of the interests of landlords and tenants by ventilating their grievances in proper quarters, scrutinising proposed legislative measures and effecting improvements in agriculture, horticulture, cattle-breeding, rural industries etc. Its field of activities extends to about 24 districts of United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

It has about 400 members on its roll. The status of the Association is well established and recognised by the Government. It has the right of electing representatives for the Provincial Board of Agriculture; Governing Body of the Government Agricultural College Cawnpur, Agricultural School, Buland Shahr, Government Agricultural Farm Muzaffarnagar and the Provincial Cattle Breeding Committee.

Many useful institutions and beneficial and remedial measures for the landholders and agriculturists of the province owe to the Association. The abolition of the Famine Insurance Fund Cess (1878) and the Patwari Cess (1889), remission of Water Rates (1906) and of the Police Cess (1911), opening of an agricultural farm at Muzaffarnagar (1918), constitution of village Panchayats (1920), increase in Lambardars' Water Rate collection fees (1921), exemption from Arms Rules of hereditary Darbaries paying a land revenue of Rs. 10,000 or more (1920) and provision (experimental) of pasture lands in some districts of the province are only a few of its outstanding achievements.

Coming to its more recent activities, the Association sent its President in 1930 to England to represent the claims and rights of the landholding community before the Round Table Conference in connection with the proposed constitutional reforms and particularly to emphasise before the conference the need of a Second Chamber in the United Provinces. A grant of Rs. 1000 was obtained in 1929 by Rai Bahadur Lala Anand Swarup, M.L.C., the present Hon'ble Secretary to the Association, from the Board of Agriculture for purchasing good milch cows for members of the Association, in his capacity of a representative of this Association in the said Board.

The Association succeeded in securing the repeal of a Government order which required a copy of the decree or order to be filed in execution proceedings under Sec. 81 of the Agra Tenancy Act, involving the litigants in additional expenses. It was also able to have a recent order of the Revenue Commissioners cancelled which entailed considerable trouble and expense to the litigants in revenue cases.

In the district of Dehra Dun, Government had, owing to agricultural depression, remitted rents of the tenants but had not given a proportionate remission in land revenue. On a representation being made by the Association they remitted Rs. 661 in the land revenue also.

The Lombardars had much difficulty in realising water rates from tenants and their fees were withheld till whole dues of Government were satisfied. The Association moved the Government in the matter with the result that taking of water rate Jamabandies by the Lombardars was made optional by Government, and such dues are now recovered by Government officials.

The Hony. Secretary to the Association moved a resolution in the local Legislative Council that owing to the agricultural depression no progressive enhancements, made under section 63N of the Land Revenue Act, of land revenue be charged till normal times were restored. The resolution was accepted and the Government kindly remitted such enhancements with effect from Rabi crops of 134.F and onward, in the districts where last settlement was made.

Owing to heavy rains and hail-storms, excessive damage was done to the Kharif crops of 1341.F in some of the districts of Agra Province and consequently the tenants were unable to pay their rents. The Association lost no time in approaching the Government with the request to remit both rents and revenue in districts. The Government was pleased to remit more than 12 lacs of rupees to compensate the loss of the agriculturists. Rs. 172,802-11a. 6p. was remitted in Muzaffarnagar alone.

Office-bearers

President—Captain Nawab Mohd. Jamshed Ali Khan, M.B.E., M.L.C.

Vice-President—Rai Bahadur Jagdish Parsad, M.L.B.

Secretary—Rai Bahadur Lala Anand Swarup, M.L.C.

Asst. Secretary—Shiam Lal Sinha.

H.C. OGHLY DISTRICT LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

The Association has just completed third year of its existence. The draft Annual Report for 1933 which was adopted at the last Annual General Meeting shows that the Association had a busy time of it in dealing with a situation of great uncertainty and difficulty to landholders and others in the province in general and the district in particular.

The Association keenly felt the difficulty the landholders were experiencing in realising cesses on rentfree lands and the general dissatisfaction due to loss and hardship caused by a most inequitable system of

valuation ; so it passed a resolution urging upon the Government to introduce at an early date, an amendment of the Cess Act in such a way as would relieve the zamindars and tenure holders of their burden of collecting cesses for rent-free lands.

The matter was subsequently referred to the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference which wholeheartedly supported the proposal of the Association.

The Association considered the various difficulties to which the landlords were put in the present economic depression. With a view to securing some relief to the zamindars holding *patnis* under the Burdwan Raj Wards Estate in respect of payment of rents, it decided that a petition signed by such zamindars should be submitted to the Hon'ble Member of the Revenue Board praying for some concession in respect of payment of patni rents, similar to those granted to the zamindars by the Government in respect of payment of the land revenue. The petition, signed by the thirty interested zamindars, was submitted through the Collector of Hooghly and informations have been received that necessary instructions have been issued by the Hon'ble Member to the local officers concerned in the matter.

The Association whole-heartedly supported the memorial submitted to the Prime Minister in England by the Raja Bahadur of Nashipore on behalf of the Landholders of the Burdwan Division praying for increasing the number of seats allotted to the Landholders' constituency in the Bengal Legislative Council under the proposed reform. Subsequently it sent a suitable memorial in support of the above memorial to the Prime Minister urging increased representation of Landholders especially by providing more seats for them in the Legislature under the proposed new constitution reducing the franchise qualifications for the Landholders' constituencies, especially in Burdwan and Presidency Divisions and placing the Burdwan and Presidency Divisions on the same line as the Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions in the matter of franchise.

Office-bearers

President—Kumar Tuls Ch. Goswami, M. A., Bar-at-Law.

Vice-Presidents—Kumar Munindra Deb Mahsay, B.A., M.L.C., Mr. Tarak Nath Mukherjee, B.Sc., Mr. Monmotha Nath Mukherjee

Secretary—Mr. Manmohan Singha Roy.

Asst Secretaries—Mr. Bhut Nath, Mr. Jamini Kanta

Members of the Executive Committee—Mr. Nirmal Chandra, Raja Kshetindra, Mr. Kanai Lal, Mr. Kshitish Chandra, B. L., Mr. Amarnath, Mr. Panna Lal, Mr. Rani Das, M. A., B. L., Mr. Jogesh Chundra, Kumar Sarat Kumar, M. A., M. L. C., Mr. Mihir Bijoy, M. Sc., Mr. Jogendra Mohan, M. L. C., Mr. Janaki Nath, Mr. Narendra Nath, Mr. Krishna Chandra.

Auditor—Mr. Balai Chandra, B. A.

GAMJAM LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

During Fasli 1343, 6 meetings were held of which one was a Sub Committee meeting which answered the questionnaire of the Orissa Administrative Committee.

On the expiry of the term of Vice-Presidentship of Sri Jubara Saheb of Chikati the Association unanimously elected on 25-7-33 Sri Raja Saheb of Surangi as its Vice-President. The Association also unanimously elected Sri Rajah Saheb of Khallikote and Athagada Estate as its President on 10-9-33, in place of Sri Raja Saheb of Parlakimedi who ceased to be president owing to his inability to give such time to the Association as is necessary.

In the year under report the Association expressed its gratitude to the Government of India for nominating Sri Jubara Saheb of Chikati as a member of the Orissa administrative Committee.

The Association further gave its unflinching support to the memorandum submitted by the Raja Saheb of Parlakimedi the then President of the Association before the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee on Indian constitutional reforms and reiterated the urgent necessity of including in New Orissa not only Parlakimidi and Jeypore Estate but also the predominantly Oriya Estates of Budarasingi, Mandasa, Tarla, and Tekkali otherwise it would break the age-long solidarity of the Oriya Zamindars of Madras.

The Association has also placed on record its appreciation of the eminent services of the Raja Saheb of Khallikote and Parlakimedi, in the cause of the landholders in general, and of this association in particular, before the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The Association has also recorded its grateful thanks to the Honourable Sri Raja Saheb of Bobbili for the yoemen service rendered by him in the cause of Landholders in the provincial council at the time of passing the Estate Land Act amending bill.

A garden party was given by the Association at Berhampur in honour of the President and members of the Orissa Administrative Committee. The Association keenly feels the need of a general land-revenue remission in the district in common with the rest of the province and regrets that the landholders of the district were not granted extension or postponement of the time for paying *peishcush*.

It has been the avowed policy of the Association since its inception that there should be no disruption among the Zamindars of the District. This view was pressed before the Orissa Administrative Committee as well as the Government of India so that in any scheme of a formation of the new Province (Orissa) all the zamindaries of the district may be included to the advantage not only of the zamindars concerned but also the new province. Unfortunately the White Paper Scheme which announced the formation of a separate Oriya province did not include in its scheme all the preponderantly Oriya areas of Ganjam.

The sudden and premature death in July last of Sri Rani Soheba of Mandasa was a great loss to the Association. It duly recorded an unanimous resolution mourning her demise and conveying sympathy with the bereaved family.

Under the able guidance of its President the Association has a bright future before it. It has now 21 members on its rolls. The Secretary complains of unsatisfactory finance and poor attendance of the members in the meetings of the Association during the last fasli and expects greater co-operation and interest from the members in the current fasli.

Office-bearers

President :—Sri Ramachandra Mardharaj Deo, M.L.C., Rajah Saheb of Khallikote and Athagada Estate. Elected on 10-9-33.

Vice-President :—Sri Purnachandra Deo, Rajah Saheb of Surangi, Elected on 25-7-33.

Secretary :—M. R. Ry., K. Viraraghava Chariar Avl., B.A.B.L.

Law and Legislation

BIHAR TENANCY AMENDMENT BILL

Rai Bahadur Shamnandan Sahay's Bihar Tenancy Amendment Bill, as amended by the Select Committee, has been passed into law. It is a solid non-official achievement and bids fair to solve the vexed problem of agrarian reforms which was agitating the province for a considerably long time. The spirit of generous accommodation which was evinced in this tri-partite agreement is a good enough promise of its success in removing the disharmony and friction which unfortunately has been found of late to mar the relations between the three parties, particularly landlords and tenants.

BIHAR AND ORISSA ZAMINDARS' PROTECTION BILL

The Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council has decided to circulate Mr. Bhagwati Saran Singh's "B. & O. Zamindars' Protection Bill" for eliciting public opinion thereon. The Bill, it may be remembered, was published in the September issue of the *Landholders' Journal*. It is intended to save the zamindaries of the province which are on the verge of extinction due to mismanagement and incompetence of the holders and contemplates for the purpose the extension of some of the provisions of the Chota-Nagpur Encumbered Estates Act 1876, and the assumption of charge of the mismanaged estates by the District Collectors on the lines of the Bengal Court of Wards Act. 1879.

Mr. SASTRI ON SOCIAL REFORM LEGISLATION

The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri who holds the view that legislation on socio-religious matters is both prudent and correct, observed in the course of his address to the Medical School Association of Bangalore that from beginning to end the Temple Entry Bill had not been liked by the public nor did it commend itself to people committed to liberal reform. The bulk of public opinion had ranged itself against the Bill and the Government's hostility to the measure he accepted as having been dictated by the political principle that no social legislation should be undertaken which has not a large measure of support of public opinion.

When social legislation was undertaken, Mr. Sastri continued, it was not enough that the motives of the legislators were pure and simple. Good intentions were no defence in public affairs. It was incumbent on them to take note of all existing factors and do nothing that would endanger the peaceful progress of society.

Judged by this standard the Temple Entry Bill really fell short of the requisite conditions. The Bill, moreover, had been hastily drawn up and the risks consequent on its operation were very great.

Referring to the Sarda Act, Mr. Sastri said that it had become a dead letter.

He expressed the opinion that the Act was passed at a time when there was no keen public demand for it, when there was only an artificial agitation which received a stimulus from Miss Mayo's book. In its ultimate form the Sarda Act had exceeded the proper limits of law-making.

Educated men and reformers thought that their work was finished after the Sarda Act was on the Statute book and that Miss Mayo had been answered ; but they failed to realize that enlightened men in the West had been asking how the legislation was working and neither the Government nor the reformers could answer the question.

DUTIES OF TANK OWNERS

Whether the Government could compel a zamindar to effect certain repairs and improvements to his tanks in the interest of Government tanks, was an issue that was recently raised in a civil appeal preferred by Senthattikkalai Pandiya Chinnathambiyar, zamindar of Sivagiri, before the Additional Subordinate Judge of Tinnevelly.

The case of the Government was that their Periyakulam tank in the Karivalamvandanallur village, Tinnevelly district, had breached in the years 1923, 1925 and other years and that four tanks, of which two belonged to the zamindar of Sivagiri, had been responsible for the breaches. The zamindar of Sivagiri, unlike the proprietors of the other two tanks, refused to carry out the repairs to his tanks as suggested by the Government.

The Government stated that by the customary law of India, the Government had cast upon them the duty of maintaining the existing tanks and other works of irrigation and that this duty had also devolved upon the zamindar of Sivagiri from the time of the Permanent Settlement and that he was bound to maintain the tanks of his zamindary which were part of national system of irrigation recognized by the laws of the country, as essential to the welfare of the people. Further the zamindary tanks which were in a state of disrepair constituted a source of danger and menace not only to wet cultivation, but also to works of irrigation maintained by the Government lower down and that the duty became imperative on the zamindar to maintain his tanks in such a condition as would ensure their safety.

The zamindar denied that the tanks constituted a source of danger and menace to the Government tank or that he had been maintaining his tanks negligently. He contended that Government had no right to compel him to maintain his tanks and store therein any fixed customary quantum of water for irrigation purposes.

The lower court as well as the court of appeal upheld the Government contention.

OWNER'S RIGHT TO BUILD

An important question of municipal administration *vis-a-vis* proprietor's right of building on his own land was disposed of by the Sind Judicial Commissioners in *Y. Kamdas Dewanmal vs. Karachi Municipality*.

The plaintiff in this case intended to build on about one-third (measuring 19 sq. yds.) of a plot of land which he owned within the jurisdiction of the Karachi Municipality. The effect of his doing so would be the erection of a building to a very suitable and convenient chowk from which light and air was supplied to the plots surrounding the chowk.

The Municipality withheld permission to build on the ground that the portion formed an open lung in the congested area and further congestion on the area would create insanitary conditions and endanger the health of the locality. It also raised the objection that the water closets and the kitchen would create smells which, owing to the prevailing direction of the breeze, would blow both into plaintiff's own plot and into other plots.

Their lordships held that the action of the municipality in withholding permission was *ultra vires* and was in excess of the powers possessed by it. In such a case, they opined, the municipality should properly acquire the plot in the interest of sanitation and health of the locality.

A University Course in Journalism

By PROF. KHAGENDRA NATH SEN, M.A., F.R.E.C.S. (Lond.),
Assistant Editor, Advance.

FOR the last three years, the Indian Journalists' Association has been interesting itself in considering and promoting a scheme of training in journalism. On September 19 last, a deputation of the Association waited on the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, of which the writer was one of the members, in connection with the scheme. The Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Shyamaprosad Mookerjee, not only gave a patient and sympathetic hearing but offered many useful and practical suggestions on the subject-matter at issue for consideration of the Journalists' Association. The scheme is now being given finishing touches by the committee of the Association in the light of the discussions that the deputationists had with the Vice-Chancellor and in the light of the criticisms that have been made of the scheme. The move of the Association for introducing a course in journalism has had wide publicity and has been welcomed by a very large section of the Press in India. Nevertheless, it is only fair to state that there has been some amount of opposition too, directed as much against the principle of opening University classes in journalism, particularly when there is hardly any scope for the employment of the trained journalists, as against the detailed features of the scheme. So far as the latter group of critics are concerned, their suggestions would certainly receive earnest considerations, for the Journalists Association has not spoken the last word on the subject but preferred only a tentative scheme which still waits to be put into final shape. In framing a scheme like this, the largest measure of agreement is essential, for it will not work without the active co-operation of the public, the editors and the proprietors of the newspapers, and of those prospective or actual journalists who would seek training, in particular; but the spadework is the most important part of the business, and the Journalists' Association claims to have done nothing more or less than this spadework in connection with the scheme.

The other group, those who question the basic utility of the scheme itself, are more intractable, and there is no room for compromise with them except to convince them that they are absolutely in the wrong.

It is not, indeed, difficult to convince them, if they are open to reason: those critics who have indulged merely in innuendoes and insinuations need not be considered because no amount of logic and argument would meet their line of attack. It is, however, necessary to examine

the arguments of those who have given explicit reasons for rejecting the scheme *in toto*, particularly as the writer of this article feels that their opinion is shared by a good many working journalists, notably in Calcutta, where the move has been initiated. Their whole case has been put very ably and succinctly by Mr. Amal Home, Editor of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, a journalist of 20 years' experience and, therefore, entitled to a respectful hearing. It will, we believe, be quite sufficient if we attend to the arguments he has advanced in the letter which he has recently contributed to the Press.

Mr. Home makes three objections to the proposal to open a University course in journalism. These are, first, that employment in Calcutta or at any rate in Bengal, should be the only test of starting a new vocational course in the University; secondly, that journalism properly so-called cannot be taught in a University; and thirdly, that properly qualified teachers of journalism are not available in Bengal and to get them from foreign countries for only teaching work is not a practicable proposition.

To each of these objections, fortunately, we have a suitable reply. Let us take these *ad seriatim*.

The 1st Objection. Assuming that the scope of employment is the only test of starting a new vocational course in the University, it is obvious that we cannot limit the field of employment to the posts that already exist or are available in a few newspaper offices. Judging from the number of journals that have recently flooded the market and the rapid strides that education is making, adding to the number of newspaper reading public every year by thousands, there is an immense scope of development of journalism in the near future, particularly vernacular journalism. Even now, there is, I believe, a great scope for starting a well-conducted English newspaper on up-to-date lines which, if it is placed in trained hands, is likely to exceed in circulation all the ill-conducted, ill-edited newspapers of the present time taken together. Indeed, each of these newspapers, now being run indifferently, would see an entirely new phase of development if it is placed in the hands of an expert and trained staff. The surprisingly low price at which we can purchase expert knowledge and efficiency in our country does not make it a question of founs so much as a question of an adequate supply of trained hands for the different branches of newspaper work. The art of advertisement and service, pictorial journalism, display of news—all these and a host of other features have escaped the attention of most newspaper concerns and yet investment in these would amply remunerate any newspaper proprietor who is sufficiently enterprising. At present he is handicapped for he is compelled to look beyond India for the supply of skill in these divisions and at a cost that is prohibitive. Of course, I am not to be understood to mean that such skill, if and when available in this country, will offer itself at the extremely low rates that now prevail in most of the newspaper offices, but only that it would be available at a cost that would be within

the capacity of many of the newspapers at present being run in Calcutta and elsewhere. Moreover, the scope of the growth of journalism in future, with the growth in literacy and expansion in the basis of the franchise in the new constitution, cannot be ignored in a discussion of this kind.

The 2nd Objection. A distinction has been made between the theoretical and the practical aspects of journalism. In order to allay the misgivings of Mr Home, and of those who think with him, I might at once proceed to state that it is the intention of the Journalists' Association to provide for a course of apprenticeship with a newspaper concern before a student qualifies fully for the diploma. As I said at the very beginning of this article, it is of the utmost importance that the Association should have the co-operation of newspaper concerns, the editors, proprietors and directors, in a matter like this. In a recent issue of a Calcutta daily paper, I found a reference to the London School of Journalism. The writer of the article under reference is not evidently conversant with the course that is offered in London. For his benefit, and of many others who have a hazy idea of the matter, I feel myself persuaded to give below the subjects which are offered by the London University for a two-year course in journalism :

1. English Composition.

2. One of the following subjects :

- (a) Principles of Criticism,
- (b) History of Political Ideas,
- (c) General History and Development of Science.

3. Two of the following subjects :

- (a) English Literature,
- (b) History,
- (c) Modern Languages,
- (d) Political Science.
- (e) Economics,
- (f) Philosophy and Psychology.

It will be seen that the course does not contemplate any practical training in the art and craft of journalism. Yet the course is popular because of all the Diplomas offered by the London University, the Diploma in Journalism attracts the largest number of candidates, about 50 a year, rising to over 60 in some years. The Indian Journalists' Association has not stopped at making the course simply theoretical as the draft scheme which is given below will testify. At present it is intended that candidates for the diploma should be limited to graduates and to those under-graduates who have had at least four years' actual experience of newspaper work. Ordinary academic subjects are, therefore, excluded from the course.

Paper I—History and Principles of Journalism.

Paper II—Leader-writing, editing and feature-writing.

Paper III—News-gathering and news editing.

Papers IV—Law of the Press.

Paper V—History of Modern Times.

Paper VI—Constitutional History and International Law.

Paper VII and VIII—One of the following subjects :

- (a) Pictorial Journalism,
- (b) Political and Socialistic Thought,
- (c) Advertisement and Business Management,
- (d) Agricultural Economics,
- (e) Economics and Statistics.

The scheme, of course, is tentative and is, no doubt, capable of further improvement. But it would be doing violence to our own experience of University teaching if we denied that the subjects mentioned above could not be taught in the class room with facilities provided for practice. The University has a first-rate press and runs a monthly journal, and there is no reason why suitable facilities should not be available for training in some of the technical aspects of journalism such as can only be obtained by actual work in the press. Even if such opportunities for actual work were not available in the University, the provision for a period of apprenticeship in the office of a newspaper for which the Association is moving will meet the point.

The 3rd Objection. The paucity of suitable teachers is, indeed, a serious point to argue against the scheme. But even this point can be met. There is no dearth of good and standard works on the subjects included in the proposed curricula in journalism. There is no dearth, either, of distinguished scholars and publicists engaged in journalism. Most of them are employed part-time in the staff of the newspapers they serve and all of them would be glad to supplement their incomes, when the time comes, by taking part in the work of teaching a subject in which they have specialized and which they love. We have reasons to believe that many of them would even offer to work without any remuneration in the first instance. They are not all a set of blind men, as Mr. Home insinuates, but they are all handicapped at present for want of finance and for want of trained assistants. The Indian Journalists' Association is now trying to seek the good offices of the University to remove, so far as it lies within their power, the latter want. They can have no control over finance for obvious reasons, but they have reasons to believe that the proprietors of newspapers would not be so perverse as to decline a profitable investment in an industry on which their fortunes (in more than one sense) depend.

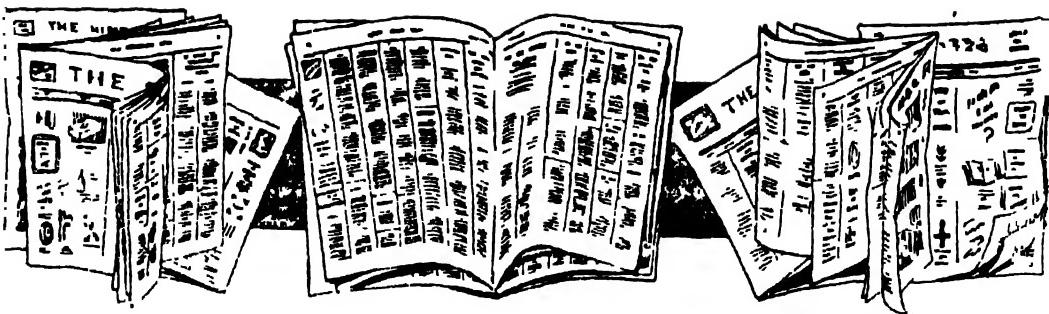
I believe I have met all the points raised by Mr. Home sufficiently to silence all opposition on the score of the scheme being basically worthless and impracticable. It is neither worthless nor impracticable. On the contrary, it meets a want that is crippling the progress of Indian journalism and, through it, the interests of the public. The real defect of the scheme became apparent in course of the interview of the deputationists

with the Vice-Chancellor. It is the necessity of making the scheme financially self-sufficient, because the University at present cannot be depended upon to make any large monetary grant for the purpose. In other words, the scheme stands in danger of being shipwrecked, as many other schemes have been shipwrecked before, on the rock of want of finance. This is a real danger and ought to be examined.

I would put the teaching staff for the subject at one full-time Head of the Department and eight part time Lecturers among whom the different papers would be distinguished as follows :

	Rupees.
1. Head of Department lecturing on Paper I, II and III	... 600 p. m.
1 Part-time Lecturer taking Paper IV	... 100 "
1 Part-time Lecturer taking Paper V	... 100 "
1 Part-time Lecturer taking Paper VI	... 100 "
1 Part-time Lecturer taking Papers VII and VIII(a)	200 "
1 Part-time Lecturer taking Papers VII and VIII(b)	100 "
1 Part-time Lecturer taking Papers VII and VIII(c)	200 "
1 Part-time Lecturer taking Papers VII and VIII (d) and Economics in (e)	... 200 "
1 Part-time Lecturer taking Statistics	... 100 —
Total	... 1700 "
Total, annually	Rs. 20,400
Library, Rs.	600 —
	Rs. 21,000

Contingencies expenditure is to be provided by the University, such as stationary, printing charges etc. On the assumption that there will be 100 students in the two years of the course and that the fees to be charged are Rs. 8 per month per student, the annual receipts would amount to Rs. 9,600 only. So there will be a deficit of Rs. 12,000 every year approximately which will either have to be raised through endowments or provided by the University. In the first few years, however, Papers I, II and III may be taught by lecturers working in an honorary capacity which will reduce the deficit to a little over Rs. 4,000 a year, one of the lecturers being given a small allowance for acting as the Head of the Department. In any case there will be need for raising a substantial endowments for financing the Department and that would most possibly be the next move of the Indian Journalists Association. For unless this defect is removed, all the efforts of the Association for the last three years will have been in vain.



Gleanings

THE SMALL MANUFACTURER.

"The absolute need for industrializing this country and the necessity to fight the dumping of foreign countries on the one side, and the lack of industrial spirit and shyness of capital on the other, makes us look for a type of industry that will combine a very low cost of production with small capital investment and minimum risk. The small manufacturer in the cities and cottage industries in the villages when properly guided and organized constitute such a form of production" writes Mr. Maurice Frydman in the pages of *India and the World* (September, 1934).

The small manufacturer [says he] who can supply only human power and skill needs proper preparation, proper tools, proper instructions, proper supply of raw materials, proper supervision, proper sales organization and a fair share in the profits.

To secure these to him Mr. Maurice would have an organization consisting of three departments viz. Technical, Distributing and Commercial.

The Technical Department will design and manufacture machinery for home production usually hand or foot driven, cheap and sturdy, giving preference to cheapness, hardness and simplicity rather than high speed. The machinery have to be manufactured, if possible entirely in this country in order to diminish cost and facilitate repairs and adaptations. First class engineers and first class machine tools are required as otherwise the machines will neither be well designed nor cheap.

The Distributing Department will be concerned with the manufacturer supplying him with the tools, raw materials, instructions and supervising his work, making his accounts and receiving the finished product. Its task is extremely varied and difficult and therefore it has to be divided into groups according to different lines of industries.

The Commercial Department will be entrusted with the sale of the manufactured goods. By giving the manufacturer a minimum pay for his work and a share in the profits proportionate to his pay roll, it can keep costs, low and yet give the manufacturer a fair share in the profits.

The whole enterprise should be organized as a Co-operative Society of the manufacturers themselves and special provisions have to be made in order to avoid the heavy overhead charges and top-heavy administration. The Technical Department may be one for the whole of India, but branches of the Distributing and Commercial Departments have to be established in as many places as possible.

There is no doubt that with proper organization the range of articles manufactured in this way can be considerably extended either by distributing parts of a more complicated article among

several manufacturers or by encouraging them to organize a small workshop and work in a team suggesting to them the organization rules and giving them a properly trained clerk to do the accounting work.

The advantages of such an organization of small industries are obvious. For a given turnover initial cost is small, risk is divided amongst many kinds of articles each distributed among many producers, facilities of utilizing the spare time of the workmen and his family and thus increasing his income are possible. The low cost will enable to fight foreign dumping and may ultimately give in each province a few hundreds or thousands of families a source of modest but assured income.

REGARDING PRINCES

The *Roy's Weekly* publishes the purport of a conversation which its Central India correspondent had with a Ruling Prince shortly after the Jhabua decision. The Prince is reported to have disbursed himself of the following ideas among others :

Alies of the King Emperor, pillars of the Indian Empire, to whom sometimes the message of His Majesty was specifically addressed : all that position of the Indian Princes is gone. They are, to-day, but crawling worms living at the auferance of paramountcy. Let that be understood once and for all. And from this viewpoint, let the Princely Order face facts and form their plan.

The one thing that suggests to me is to get from paramountcy a definition of what is good rule and bad rule—if bad rule means the mere protest in the British Indian press by a few handful of men—of course British Government can ignore Gandhi and all the press of India when they protest against unrule in British India—then the Princes had better abdicate in a body and seek refuge in Pondicherry !

If, on the other hand, paramountcy is prepared to name a standard of measurement for good rule, let it be made now and here : a Prince shall have so many wives, he shall have always so many lakhs in the treasury, he shall take as land-revenue only so much, he shall have so many schools, so much army, such and such expenditure, that he shall employ in his service so many British officers, that he shall travel to Europe only by the P and O Boats, so on and so forth. Let rules be framed and published and let Princes crave for time to re-arrange their house. Then, but only then can the Princely Order survive for a few more years. Otherwise they lie at the mercy of the Political Department. This is the ugly situation that is revealed to them on the threshold of federation. Does this mean anything at all ? It is for the Princes to answer.

In the meanwhile, the Indian Princes who used to be described as a unique institution, nodding to the lustre of the British Crown, stand naked before the world as helpless creatures, who might, at any moment, be spirited away, in the name of misrule.

Let us consider some remedies. If the 'Panchayet' can be set up to ease the contact of the rustic with law, why should it be impossible for five Princes to settle Jhabua affairs ? The offer of a Commission of Enquiry, with the Indian Prince under scrutiny made to get out of his State as if he were a criminal, is to insult common intelligence. No man with self-respect would submit to this humiliation. To-day when their pride is humbled and their prestige is in the gutter, Indian Princes might find it easy to submit their case to a few outstanding personalities among their own order and take instructions from them for the future.

Let the Princes ask for a standard of measurement of good rule and a 'Panchayet'

Some kind of arrangement must soon be made. The people of the States want power, just as the people of British India want power. Princes have no friends. They have no sufficient funds to entertain the Political Officers and Viceroys and, at the same time, find money for development departments. They do not know what is expected of them. British system of administration, accompanied with extravagance of expenditure, has landed many of them in insolvency. The Gandhi ideal of 'khaddar' and groundnut food would be equally dangerous for them. The Nizam is said to have suffered for his high Islamic standard of simplicity.

RESIDUARY POWERS IN INDIAN FEDERATION.

Writing in the September issue of the *Indian Review* Prof. D. N. Banerjee M. A., of the Dacca University examines the problem of residuary powers in the proposed Federation of India. The White Paper Proposals have drawn up three lists of subjects, exclusively Federal, exclusively Provincial and "Concurrent" subjects, making them as exhaustive as is reasonably possible.

But there will still be left, continues Mr. Banerjee, some subjects outside the three lists, since it is not possible to exhaust by enumeration 'the entire field of potential governmental activity'; and these may be termed the residual subjects. In regard to them the White Paper has made two proposals. The first proposal is to include in the Provincial list a general power to legislate on any matter of a merely local and private nature in the Province which has not been specifically included in that list and which does not fall within the list of exclusively federal or "Concurrent" subjects. But if any matter which is in its inception of a merely local or private character subsequently becomes of an All-India interest, then it is proposed to make that power of legislation *subject to a right of the Governor-General to sanction in his discretion general legislation by the Federal Legislature on the same subject-matter*.

Secondly, it has been proposed that provision will be made in the Constitution Act enabling either the Federal Legislature or any Provincial Legislature to make a law with respect to a residual subject, if any, not falling within the scope of any of the three lists, namely, exclusively Federal, exclusively Provincial, and "Concurrent", "by means of an Act to the introduction of which the previous sanction of the Governor-General, *given at his discretion*, has been obtained, and to which (in the case of a Provincial Act) assent of the Governor-General *has been declared*."

Thus it is clear from the proposed provisions for legislation on residual subjects that it will practically be left entirely to the discretion of the Governor-General to decide whether such legislation should be made by the Federal Legislature or by a Provincial Legislature.

But the best arrangement to my mind will be frankly to vest the residuary powers in the hands of the Federal Government of India from the very commencement of the operation of the Constitution Act, as that alone will make the Federal Government very strong and enable it successfully to hold in check the divisive influences in our national life.

We have valuable lesson to learn, adds Mr. Banerjee, in this respect from the constitutional history of the Dominion of Canada and in the light of this lesson he suggests that

the Federal Government of India should have jurisdiction over all matters not exclusively assigned by the Constitution to the Governments of its constituent units and that the latter should have jurisdiction only over certain matters specifically assigned to them by the Constitution.

And if there are—as is very likely—any subjects with regard to which it is proposed to confer a concurrent power of legislation upon the Federal and Provincial Governments of India, then it should be provided in the Constitution that in case of a conflict between a Federal and provincial law, the former must prevail.

Hope leads to misery and deludes you
to leave your family a hostage to fortune

— Therefore don't Live in Hope —

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OFFERS YOU THE BEST AND THE SAFEST POLICY
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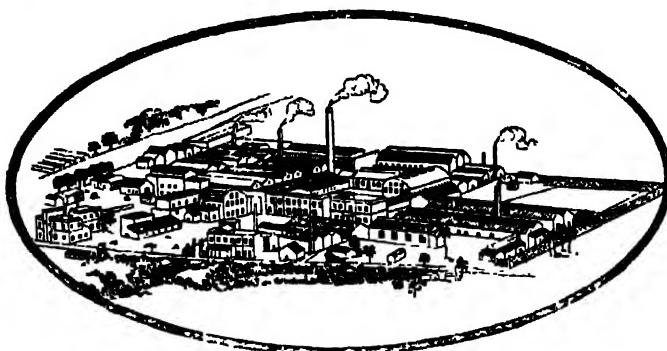
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2, LYONS RANGE,

CALCUTTA.

Some Outstanding Concerns

Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works Ltd.



The Bengal Chemical & Pharmaceutical Works, Ltd., is a public Joint Stock Company established over 31 years ago. Its factories at Maniktala and Panihati cover an area of 58 acres of land, where over 2000 men are employed. The company has its own engineering work-shops, saw mills, power-house, water works and printing press. The works are equipped with latest plants and machineries and the organization of every department is up-to-date. There is a large staff of trained and expert chemists, engineers and mechanics.

The main lines of manufacture of the Company are :

Chemicals : Such as Mineral Acids, Ammonia, Alum, Ferro-Alum, Aluminium Sulphate, Sulphate of Magnesium, Sodium and Iron, Nitrate of Potash, Thiosulphate of Sodium, Dextrine, Caffeine and various other Chemicals.

Pharmaceuticals : The Pharmacy is equipped with all necessary appliances for the manufacture of drugs of the highest standard and reliability. Besides the preparations of the British Pharmacopoeia, the Company manufactures many reputed Indian indigenous drugs, which are largely prescribed by the profession. All preparations are tested before issue. Drugs like Tinct. Digitalis, Ergot etc., are physiologically standardized before leaving the Works.

Surgical Dressing & Disinfectants : These are made at the Panihati Works of the Company. B. C. P. W. Surgical Cottons, Bandages, Gauzes, etc. and 'Pheneol' disinfectants are famous for their quality and standard.

Vaccines, Sera & other Organo-Therapeutic Preparations These are prepared in a large scale under the control of experienced bacteriologists. The Biological Laboratory is equipped with the latest types of apparatus and appliances. Vaccines and Sera are all prepared from indigenous strains under local climatic conditions and are far more patent and reliable than imported stock vaccines.

Scientific Instruments Etc. : A large variety of these goods are made for schools, colleges and scientific laboratories. The Company specializes in the manufacture of gas plants, laboratory furniture and fittings, chemical fire-extinguishers, sterilizers, stills, chemical balances and various other articles.

Toilet Preparations & Perfumes : High Class Toilet Soaps and medicated soaps are being manufactured by the Company at its Panihati Works. Various other Toilet Products like Perfumes, Face Powders, Creams, Dentrifices, Hair Oils etc. are also made by the Company. They are produced from the purest and finest ingredients available and as such in quality and dainty get-up they stand unrivalled.

The Company has an elaborately equipped analytical laboratory, where a large staff of trained chemists are engaged in testing raw materials and finished products to ensure the maintenance of proper standard. Experiments and researches for devising new and improved processes and products are also conducted in this department.

Bengal Chemical of to-day is the biggest Chemical and Pharmaceutical work in India. This stupendous success is not the result of a day or two. Behind it there is strenuous effort, devoted service and immense sacrifice for years together of men with sound intellect, great ingenuity and spotless integrity.

Pestonjee P. Pocha & Sons.

Among the seed merchants and garden suppliers of India the name of Pestonjee P. Pocha & Sons unquestionably stands very high. The secret of their phenomenal success lies in excellent quality, freshness and suitability of seeds supplied.

Found in 1884 this firm has established a unique and unassailable position through fifty years of honest and straightforward service..

B. K. Paul & Co.

About a century ago (1835) Mr. Butto Kristo Paul, an energetic and far-seeing young man was struck with the idea of founding a chemist and druggists business. At that time European medicines and drugs were looked on askance by the native population. For one thing their efficacy was distrusted and there was prejudice against foreign articles in general. But worst of all, spurious medicines and impure drugs were sometimes palmed off as genuine. Mr. Paul was far-seeing enough to realise that European medicines and European methods of combating disease would in time supersede indigenous drugs and the native system of treatment. He also recognised that success could also be insured by dealing in pure and genuine articles. With this idea he started a tiny shop in the busiest part of Burabazar.

Activities : The progress made was so rapid that Mr. Paul very soon found it necessary to occupy larger premises and later erected a commodious building for his business. It is estimated that over 1,500 people are employed by the firm. It is due to this continuous growth of the business that Mr. Paul was induced to take into the firm his eldest son, late lamented Mr. Bhut Nath Paul, at the very early age of 16. As a distributing house the firm of B. K. Paul & Co. stand second to none in the east under the able guidance of Sir Hari Shanker Paul, Mr. Hari Mohan Paul and their nephews.

Manufacturing Department : Once the distribution of imported drugs and chemicals was established on sound basis, the company determined to branch out on new lines. With the establishment of a laboratory, a start was made with the manufacture of several indigenous drugs, chemicals, patent medicines and surgical instruments. In this connection, the vision is directed to Dum Dum. Here the firm has its laboratories and factories, and the premises and the grounds cover an area of thirteen acres. They are hives of industry, in which 500 men are employed in the preparation of indigenous drugs and pharmaceutical products, in many cases from roots specially cultivated in its drug farm under best possible conditions. It is needless to emphasise that their products are always standardised both chemically and biologically by specially trained experts.

Not only has the firm limited itself only to drugs but has a toilet department of its own which prepares improved types of essence, cream, powder, cologne water, fruit essences etc.

Of more recent growth is the manufacture of Disinfectants and Surgical Dressings, extraction of Alkaloids and Experimental Drug cultivation.

The Empire of India Life Assurance Co., Ltd.

In reviewing the last year's working of this company one Insurance Expert writes "The large reserves which have been built around this institution, a cautious but definite expansion it has been making, ensure the Empire of India Life Assurance Co.'s name being written down as one of the makers of safe Indian Insurance".

A scrutiny of the position of the company makes us heartily endorse this remark.

This company, one of the big five Indian Insurance Companies, has built up this unique position by careful handling of business and cautious management of funds. With its moderate premium rates, low ratio of expense and surrender value, safe investments, unimpeachable financial strength, it is quite natural that the company has become one of the most popular Insurance institutions in this country. From the last year's Annual Report we find that many existing policy-holders took out additional assurances which fact is indicative of deep conviction of the policy-holders in the soundness and stability of the company.

The excellent record of the company is convincing—such a sound office is justly regarded as the pride and glory of Indian enterprise.

Mr. A. C. Sen of the Bengal Chief Agency is already known for his business abilities and we wish him more success in the expansion of business.

Bombay Mutual Life Insurance Society

We have before us a copy of the Annual Report and the Balance Sheet of the Bombay Mutual Life Insurance Society for the year ending 31st December 1933, and as we go through it, we feel glad to find that this oldest life office of India is gradually but steadily occupying its legitimate place amongst the biggest insurance concerns of the east. Having worked on a very conservative line for more than half a century the Society has taken up the expansion of business on an enlarged scale since the last few years which goes to prove beyond all doubts that the benefits and privileges of this mutual insurance concern are being realised by our insurance public.

During the year under review the Society has secured proposals amounting to Rs. 1,63,53,000, out of which proposals assuring the sum of Rs. 1,29,17,000 were paid for yielding an annual premium income of Rs 6,92,268-2. This represents an advance of nearly 70 p. c. in the matter of new business over previous year's figures and an increase of about 50 p.c. in the matter of premium income over that of the previous year. The total Life Fund at present stands at Rs. 33,50,837-13-8, showing an increase of 67 p.c. over the Fund of the previous year.

The Society's valuation as on 31st December 1933 discloses highly satisfactory results inspite of the world-wide financial depression. It has declared bonuses at the rate of Rs. 26 and Rs. 21 per thousand per annum on Whole Life and Endowment Policies respectively.

While we speak of Bombay Mutual, we must say something in connection with Messrs. Dastidar & Sons, Chief Agents of the Society, of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa & Assam, who have been responsible for over 40% of the total business of the Society. It is due to their untiring and sincere activities that the Society has been so nicely represented in these provinces.

Bhagya Lakshmi Insurance Ltd.

We have pleasure to review the achievement of Bhagya Lakshmi Insurance Ltd. in the short span of less than 6 months that the company has embarked on life business. A comparatively new comer in the field of life business, it has the advantage of rich experience in the efficient management of Messrs K. C. Banerjee & Co., the able Managing Agents. In the writing of a very substantial amount of business in the face of severe competition, this young company has already established a sound footing in the Insurance world.

Godrej & Boyce Manufacturing Company

An inspection of the Godrej Steel Works convincingly proves how modern and well equipped these Works are as compared to the leading manufacturers of foreign countries. The Safes, Almirahs, Cabinets etc. which these Works Produce are the products of the most modern machineries and devices, engineering skill of the operatives and the sterling work of Godrej research engineers.

An idea of the extensiveness of the Godrej Works can be gathered from the fact that the factory covers a roofed area of about 70,000 sq. ft. and that inspite of the so called trade depression these Works absorb 700 workmen. To cope with the growing demand not only are further extensions being made to the factory, but new branches and agencies are being opened up in different places in India.

There can be no more convincing proof of the unrivalled merit of the Godrej products than the fact that they are in demand from the Indian Stores Department, different departments of the Government of India, Provincial Governments, Post and Telegraph Offices, Railways, Indian States and all the leading Banks of India.

Dwarkin & Son.

Messrs. Dwarkin and Son of 11-12 Esplanade, Calcutta may indisputably be regarded as the leading and the most respectable firm in the line of musical Instruments and accessories. It was founded by the late Babu Dwarkanath Ghose more than sixty years ago and the firm has a very remarkable history. From a very humble beginning it rose to eminence through business acumen and uprightness in dealings.

At the time Babu Dwarkanath started his business European musical instruments viz Harmoniums, Pianos, Clarionets, Cornets Flutes, Piccolos, Musical Boxes &c had just begun to be popular among Indian gentlemen specially zemindars of Bengal. Babu Dwarkanath foresaw the immense possibilities of harmonium trade in India and he soon succeeded in creating a demand for harmoniums among Indians. In 1875 he conceived the idea of manufacturing in India hand harmoniums suitable for average Indian houses where chairs were seldom used at that time. In 1886 Babu Dwarkanath after years of experiment invented and started manufacturing hand harmoniums as one sees to-day. Hand harmonium as designed by him is the most popular musical instrument in India, Burma and Ceylon.

Messrs Dwarkin & Son are offering a very liberal puja concession this year as usual. It offers to buyers of musical instrument rare opportunity which should not be missed as it is not possible to get anything from Dwarkin's for less than their catalogue prices which are strictly net.

Kamalalaya

The history of the origin and development of Kamalalaya, the well-known Tailors, Outfitters and Cloth merchants of Calcutta is a testimony to what business acumen, efficient service, courteous and honest dealings can achieve.

From a very humble beginning in 1905 this firm has risen to be one of the most progressive concerns of the day. They have considerably extended the lines of business to include piece-goods, hosiery, bedding requisites, umbrellas, manufacture of 'Swanback' Rubberless Raincoats, Sola hats etc. It is no small credit to an enterprise that it books orders from such distant places outside India as South Africa, East Africa, Rhodesia, Egypt, Mauritius, Ceylon and Burma.

Notes * News * Comments

Our Puja Greetings

We extend our hearty Puja greetings to our numerous patrons and constituents particularly to those who belong to the province of Bengal. The Durga Puja is right upon us and will in the course of the next few days demand of us the choicest of soul-offerings. It is an occasion of national rejoicing in Bengal and we sincerely wish our constituents and countrymen the fullest measure of it. The Puja time brings happiness to all Bengalis and non-Bengalis, officials and non-officials, particularly to those who tired and fatigued with routine work yearn for the Puja holidays to rejuvenate their body and mind in the health-giving hilly resorts or bracing sea-side towns. True, the economic outlook is anything but cheerful but we trust our countrymen will make the best of a bad situation when the Great Mother will be in their midst

The N. R. A. Reorganization

The resignation of General Johnson on the 25th of September last removed a striking personality from the National Recovery Administration of the United States of America. The resignation will take effect from October 15 and was correctly interpreted in well-informed circles to be a prelude to a thorough reorganization of the N. R. A., while General Johnson himself is reported to have been offered a position in the film world at a salary of 100,000 dollars which is approximately equivalent to £20,000 at par per annum.

The anticipated reorganization of the N. R. A. was announced by President Roosevelt on September 27. All future decisions of policy and legislation were henceforth to be reserved to the President himself. Subject to this stipulation, a Committee of six has been appointed, headed by Mr. Donald Richberg, Legal Adviser to the N. R. A., to take charge of broad policies and future legislation while a Board consisting of five members has been appointed to take over the actual administration in place of General Johnson. A third Committee may probably be appointed to take charge of the judicial phases of the N. R. A.

This officially marks the beginning of the second phase of the National Recovery Administration.

Christening of the Royal Indian Navy

On October 2, in the midst of picturesque ceremonies, the Royal Indian Marine Service was formally christened as the Royal Indian Navy. Vice-admiral Sir H. T. Walwyn made the announcement on behalf of His Majesty the King Emperor at Bombay which is the head quarters of the Navy. The announcement was a mere formal requirement because ever since 1925, the Royal Indian Marine Service has been recognised as the Royal Indian Navy, constituted on a purely combatant basis. At present it consists of one depot stationed at Bombay, four ships with a fifth in course of completion, one survey ship, two patrol ships and one trawler. The Navy is part of the Royal Navy but there are at present three Indians serving in it, with ten others being trained in England for the service, as midshipmen, engineers and navy cadets. Historically, it steps into the shoes of the old Marine of the East Indian Company with its headquarters in Madras, the Royal Indian Marine Service being organised in 1863 when it combined combatant duties with those of hydrographic surveying. During the War, officers of the Service served in almost every theatre, and its status has not been given an appropriate recognition in its new designation as the Royal Indian Navy.

Physical Training of Indian Girls

Presiding over the annual meeting of the Bahika Byayam Samity, Calcutta, Raja Bhupendra Narayan Sinha Bahadur of Nashipur said that University curriculum hardly provided for an independent course of training for girls and, as in field of physical culture, so also in the sphere of mental training, substantial modification of the present-day scheme of education was called for. He emphasised the need of a careful handling of and an intelligent approach to physical and mental training of Indian girls.

Regarding the association of girls with the cult of terrorism the Raja Bahadur said : "What pains us most is that the fair name of Indian womanhood, their reputation for kindness, love and hospitality, their ideals of service and religion are all going to be thrown to the winds, and what is best in our society is going to be sacrificed in the false belief of establishing the millennium through the adoption of dirty, cowardly and un-womanly methods".

A sense of discipline and love in all, continued the Raja, was most needed for the development of a strong and healthy nation. "This" he said, "will automatically render impossible the senseless activities of the terrorists, as much in the field of politics as in the social life of our impressionable young men and women".

Raja Sriram of Maurawan

The Oudh National Agriculturists Party has nominated Raja Sriram as its representative from Lucknow Division, Non-Muslim Constituency for the forthcoming Assembly elections,

A notable donation

The Raja of Bobbili has donated Rs. 2000 towards the Madras Fund which is being raised to be given to Poet Rabindranath Tagore in aid of his Viswabharati.

Zamindar's Generosity

Mr. Atul Chandra Choudhuri of Calcutta went to his native village Bhandarhatin P. S. Dhoniakhali to inspect the areas severely affected by the utter failure of monsoon this year, in order to give relief to his starving tenants there. He ~~surrendered~~ 100 mds, of paddy to be distributed amongst them on condition that should they reap a good harvest next year, they would store up the quantity they got from him plus 25% thereof in a local storage in order to provide against any future failure of crops.

OBITUARY

We deeply regret to record the death of Kumar Manmatha Nath Mitter, grandson of the late Raja Digambar Mitter of revered memory. The deceased was one of nature's high-souled gentleman and a fine specimen of our cultured and refined nobility. He was an outstanding figure of the anti-partition days and a tower of strength to the Swadeshi movement. He was connected with many a public organisation and his name was a guarantee of their sound financial condition. As a member of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, he helped it to tide over many financial difficulties. Literature and art found in him one of their best votaries and critics.

We regret to record the demise of Sir Charu Chunder Ghose, a former acting Chief Justice of Bengal, which melancholy event took place at his Calcutta residence on the 10th September last. He was enrolled as a Vakil of the High Court in 1898 and called to its bar in 1907. In 1919 he was elevated to the bench of the Calcutta High Court. He officiated as Chief Justice of Bengal on four occasions. He retired from the bench in 1934 and succeeded Sir P. C. Mitter as Executive Councillor. Ill-health soon forced him to retire from this new office. He was knighted in 1926.

A poet, patriot, lawyer and educationist passed away in the person of the late Late Mr. Atul Prasad Sen of Lucknow. He was an outstanding figure among Bengalees domiciled outside Bengal.

He was the leader of the Lucknow bar and was widely loved and respected in the United Provinces.

So far as Bengalees are concerned his title to undying fame will rest on his contributions in the domain of poetry and song. "Kakali", "Gita Manjari" and "Kayekti Gan" are some of his outstanding contributions to Bengali literature.

* * * * *

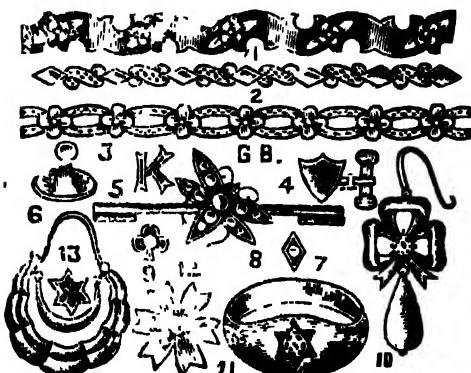
The death has been announced of the Raja of Kalakankar, a prominent member of the U.P. landholding community. The deceased was imbued with the true Swadeshi spirit and had many sterling qualities of head and heart. He was one of our earliest writers and esteemed patrons.

—————♦—————

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The policy of the Journal is progressive and dictated by one ideal—progress of the country as a whole along constitutional lines and without impairment of the basic rights of the zamindar community closely allied as they are with those of their tenants.

The Editor cordially invites articles and contributions on problems of interest to the country in general and to the landholding community in particular, items of personal and district news, reports of political and social events, auto-biographical and biographical sketches with photographs of prominent members of the landholding community and photographs of general topical interest.

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Vol. III.

NOVEMBER, 1934.

No. II.

The Joint Committee's Report

THE publication of the Joint Committee's Report has been followed immediately by a torrent of comment and it is not possible for any human intellect to separate the wheat from the tare from this mass of opinion. Nor is it possible to express anything like an intelligent view on the immense document without a thorough examination of its contents. At a glance it appears that the much-maligned Report has a great deal in it which, in our view, merits commendation. We are not of those who would consign the recommendations lock, stock and barrel to the dust bin. We would dare not merely to touch it with the end of a barge pole but handle it and read it with the greatest care and attention as representing the collective views of a set of men who, however ~~different~~, may be their opinion from that of the majority of persons most vitally affected by the Report, must be given credit for achieving a herculean task—a task which demanded the ripest judgment, most laborious examination of extraordinarily difficult questions and superhuman patience.

But, after all, the framers of the Report are only finite human beings. No wise man could possibly have expected them to turn out a perfect scheme or one that would be found acceptable to all concerned.

The scheme has certainly many imperfections and contains features which are demonstrably against the best interests of India. We admit, in the words of the Report itself, that "Responsible government.....is not an automatic device which can be manufactured to specification". We also admit, in a general way, that the safeguards as "a substantial power fully endorsed by law" are not only not inconsistent with some form of responsible government, but in the present circumstances of India it is no paradox to say that they are the necessary complement to any form of it, without which it could have little or no hope of success".

But clever and ingenious as are these enunciations of general principles, they fail to hide the basic defects of the scheme. Politically-minded Indians have sufficient intelligence to realise that what constitutes responsible government cannot be manufactured overnight but at the same time they have the acumen to discern that what is designed to be palmed off as a substantial measure of self-government is merely the husk of it without the kernel. Ever since the memorable declaration of 1917 Indians have been hoping, on the strength of a definite promise, for gradual realisation of responsible government. If then, in 1934, nearly two decades later, they demand a fulfilment of that promise,—a promise which has more than once been confirmed by the British Government—can it now be said that they are asking for "an automatic device manufactured to specification"?

It would be no exaggeration to say that Indians have been dumb-founded by the novel interpretation of responsible government set by the Joint Parliamentary Committee.

Safeguards are not always inconsistent with responsible government. Indeed, they are often necessary, but safeguards must not in any circumstances operate against the process of development of a nation to its full political and economic stature. We are convinced that many of the safeguards proposed will not help but gravely hinder the progress of the country. In stead of introducing flexibility and facilitating efficient administration, they will create a deadlock or perhaps a series of deadlocks with their inevitable consequences. What is of most vital concern to India is whether the vaunted scheme of self-government does, in fact, confer self-government to the extent possible in the present circumstances of India and whether the scheme contains the seeds of future advance.

We welcome the Committee's recommendations with reference to the abolition of dyarchy and the grant of autonomy to the Provinces, the recommendations regarding incorporation in the same Act of provision for the constitution of an all-India Federation, the proposal for Second Chambers in a number of Provinces, and acceptance of the Lothian Committee Report with added suggestions for an increase in the number of women voters.

It is a pity that the value of these important reforms should be threatened with serious diminutions by inherent defects of other proposals. We doubt whether these reforms can take root under the sinister shadow of checks and safeguards at every step prompted by suspicions of the ability and good intentions of those for whom they are designed.

Take, for example, the position with regard to the transference to a Minister of Law and Order, hedged in by numerous conditions or "safeguards" which the Committee would have us believe, are necessary for efficient administration. The Minister is expected to administer his department with powers shorn almost to a nullity by the reservation of fifteen-sixteenths of his authority in the Governor and various other officials. The

Governor's consent should always be necessary to the amendments of Police Acts and certain rules thereunder and secret intelligence report should be sacrosanct and be hidden from the Minister. Is this not mockery? Why create a Minister when he is not to have any power? If transference of power is not to be real, for Heaven's sake let there be no pretence about it.

India is to have economic freedom and the Committee's means to attain this end is by the practical nullification of the Indian Fiscal Autonomy Convention under which the country does enjoy a certain measure of fiscal autonomy, and by devising provisions against "discrimination against British commercial interests and trade in India and discrimination against British imports". To make assurance doubly sure, they have recommended that "to the special responsibilities of the Governor-General enumerated in the White Paper there should be added a further special responsibility such as the prevention of measures legislative or administrative which would subject British goods imported into India from the United Kingdom, to discriminatory or penal treatment."

India's conception of economic freedom naturally envisages the rights to foster her own trade and commerce at the expense, if necessary, of foreign trade and commerce, including British. Hitherto, this right has not been questioned. It is only now that it is sought to fetter India's discretion in the interests of British trade. We fail to see the necessity for this provision and fear that it is another manifestation of the Committee's distrust of India's sincerity and goodwill. Let it be remembered that distrust begets distrust and therefore the consequences of this move cannot be beneficial either to Britain or to India.

In the category of proposals that we generally welcome must be placed the recommendations of the Committee relating to the sanctity of private property or an agelong agreement such as the Permanent Settlement. The Committee emphasise that expropriation of private property cannot be permitted in circumstances other than urgent national demands or for "public purposes", and in any case such a proposal must receive the sanction of the Governor-General or Governor, as the case may be. It is desirable that there should be some explicit definition of what "public purposes" is designed to mean. A good deal of doubt and uncertainty would then be removed.

With regard to the Talukdars, Inamdar^s etc, and the Zamindars under the Permanent Settlement the Committee state:—

"..... There is a form of private property—perhaps more accurately described as "vested interest"—common in India, which we think requires more specific protection. We refer to grants of land or of tenure of land free of land revenue, or subject to partial remissions of land revenue, held under various names (of which Taluk, Inam, Watan, Jagir and Muasi are examples) throughout British India by various individuals or classes of individuals. Some of these grants date from Moghul or Sikh times and have been confirmed by the British Government: others have been granted by the British Government for services rendered. The terms of these grants differ: older grants are mostly perpetual, modern grants are mostly for three, or even two, generations. But, whatever their terms, a grant of this kind is always held in virtue of a specific undertaking given by, or on the authority of, the British Government that, subject in some cases to the due observance by the grantee of specified conditions, the rights of himself and his successors will be respected either for all time or, as the case may be, for the duration of the grant. A well-known instance of such rights is to be found in those enjoyed by the present Talukdars of Oudh, who owe their origin to the grant to their predecessors of sanads by Lord Canning, the then Governor-General, conferring proprietary rights upon all those who engaged to pay the jumma which might then, or might from time to time subsequently, be fixed, subject to loyalty and good behaviour; and the rights thus conferred were declared to be permanent, hereditary, and transferable.

It is not unnatural that the holders of privileges such as we have described should be apprehensive lest the grant of responsible government and the consequent handing over to the control of Ministers and Legislatures of all matters connected with land revenue administration, should result in a failure to observe the promises which have been extended by Governments in the past to themselves or their predecessors in interest. Some of the claims to protection which have been urged upon us in this connection would be satisfied by little less than a statutory declaration which would have the effect of maintaining unaltered and unalterable for all time, however strong the justification for its modifications might prove to be in the light of changed circumstances, every promise or undertaking of the kind made by the British Government in the past. We could not contemplate so far-reaching a limitation upon the natural consequences of the change to responsible government. We recommend, however, that the Constitution Act should contain an appropriate provision requiring the prior consent of the Governor-General or the Governor, as the case may be, to any proposal, legislative or executive, which would alter or prejudice the rights of the possessor of any privilege of the kind to which we have referred.

We have considered whether similar provision should be made to protect the rights of Zamindars and others who are the successors in interest of those in whose favour the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and parts of the United Provinces and Madras was made at the end of the 18th century. Briefly, the effect of this Settlement was to give a proprietary right in land to the class described as Zamindars, on the understanding that they collected and paid to Government the revenue assessed on that land, which was fixed at rates declared at the time to be intended to stand unaltered in perpetuity. It is apparent that the position of Zamindars under the Permanent Settlement is very different from that of the individual holders of grants or privileges of the kind we have just described; for, while the privileges of the latter might, but for a protection such as we suggest, be swept away by a stroke of the pen with little or no injury to any but the holders of vested interest himself, the alteration of the character of the land revenue settlement in Bengal, for instance, would involve directly or indirectly the interest of vast numbers of the population, in addition to those of the comparatively small number of Zamindars proper, and might indeed produce an economic revolution of most far-reaching character. Consequently no Ministry or Legislature in Bengal could, in fact, embark upon, or at all events carry to a conclusion, legislative proposals which would have such result, unless they had behind them an overwhelming volume of public support. We do not dispute the fact that the declaration as to the permanence of the Settlement, contained in the Regulations under which it was enacted, could not have been departed from by the British Government so long as that Government was in effective control of land revenue. But we could not regard this fact as involving the conclusion that it must be placed beyond the legal competence of an Indian Ministry responsible to an Indian Legislature, which is to be charged *inter alia* with the duty of regulating the land revenue system of the Province, to alter the enactments embodying the Permanent Settlement, which enactments, despite the promises of permanence which they contain, are legally subject (like any other Indian enactment) to repeal or alteration. Nevertheless, we feel that the Permanent Settlement is not a matter for which, as the result of the introduction of Provincial Autonomy, His Majesty's Government can properly disclaim all responsibility. We recommend therefore that the Governor should be instructed to reserve for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure any Bill passed by the Legislature which would alter the character of the Permanent Settlement.

We agree with every word of the recommendations in so far as they have gone. The Committee are obviously fully conscious of the sacrosanctness of the grants and permanent nature of the Permanent Settlement. So far so good. Why then the hesitation to protect the grants and the settlement from the whims of any particular party in power? If other safeguards can be created and placed beyond the possibility of disturbance, why should the grants and the Permanent Settlement be excluded from that privilege? This, again, it seems to us, is an instance of the arbitrary findings of the Committee with which the Report abounds.

The Committee have not been able to see their way to increasing the representation of the landholding community in any of the provincial legislatures or even in the central legislature. In the face of the irresistible arguments that have been adduced by the community, the most important in India, one cannot understand the refusal of the Committee to accede to a demand based on fairness and equity.

The comments we have made above do not exhaust our opinions on the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. We shall return to them in future issues of the Journal. Meanwhile we hope and pray that the obvious defects in the scheme, to some of which we have drawn attention above, will be rectified in the final stage.

Hindu Moslem Unity

BY RAI BAHADUR AJIT NATH DAS.

"**U**NITY is strength", "A house divided against itself cannot stand",— these and the like phrases are being instilled into the mind of every educated or semi-educated person from his early days. But as is the case unfortunately with regard to many such phrases, people are content to mouth them and applaud the wisdom of their philosophy without making the slightest effort to be guided by them. Opinions with regard to Hindu Moslem unity may roughly be divided into two classes—the one considers it as an ideal impossible of attainment, and the other makes light of hard facts and optimistically suggests that there is bound to be a gradual "rapprochement" between the two communities. Recent events are apt to lead one to side with the pessimism of the first class of opinions. To do so, however, is a confession of failure, and at this juncture of Indian history, failure is a word that can find no place in the vocabulary of a patriot. On the other hand, the "laissez-faire" attitude of the latter class of opinions, will not help in any way to solve the difficulty. There is no use crying "Peace!" when there is no peace. The situation as between the two communities has grown out of a subconscious feeling (aroused to very vivid consciousness on the occasion of religious celebrations) on the part of the Hindus, that the Mohammedans are intruders and on the part of the Mohammedans that they are conquerors. Similar feelings prevailed in England at one time between the Saxons and the Normans, and in Europe between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. Centuries ago, a Latin poet commented on the amount of evil that is done in the name of religion.

When one gets two very vital and entirely opposite systems of religious thought existing side by side, it is small wonder if comparatively trivial matters be sufficient to kindle an extremely devastating flame. The only way to achieve unity is tolerance. The breach between the Hindus and the Mohammedans was somewhat widened by an idea of "Pan-Islam". The Khilafat movement was an expression of Indian Moslems but that idea, although it received the somewhat doubtful blessing of Mr. Gandhi anxious at all costs to propitiate all parties, received a rude shock from the moment the young Turks came into power and is now hopelessly discredited by Kemal Pasha and Reza Shah, to say nothing of the King of Afghanistan. In spite of much that is said to the contrary, it is the naked truth that Mohammedans of India are regarded by their

brethren of the Continent much more as Indians than as Moslems and if only rank and file of Moslems could get it into their heads that they are members of the British Empire and not of a Mohammedan Empire, part of the difficulties of the communal problem of India would be disappear.

"Nationalism" rather than "Imperialism" is the very word of "the modern State." That is true even of the United Soviet Socialist Republics. Kemal Pasha's great achievement was that he turned Turkey from an impotent empire into a very important nation. Nationality was the keystone of his structure. Indian Moslems cannot expect any active sympathy or help from other Islamic nations any more than the Christians of one country in Europe can expect help from the Christians of another country. It is obvious, therefore, that the Indian Mohammedans must look to India as their country and be prepared to live in amity with the other inhabitants of the country. The word "Hindusthan" will have to be changed or at any rate a different connotation be given to it in its application to India. It is impossible in India to have a settlement such as is being attempted in Ireland and even the Irish experiment seems not wholly successful. Once the Indian Mohammedans feel that they are Indians, they will be readier to work amicably with Hindus.

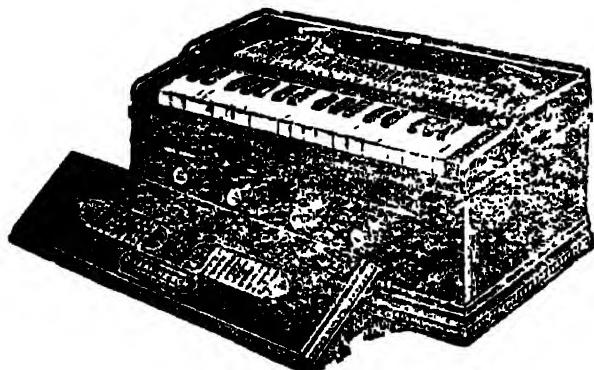
Now, as has already been said, religious feelings run very high, and the more ignorant a man is, the more intolerant he is of another's faith. Jealous lest the traditions that are his very life blood should in any way be weakened or nullified, the bigoted Hindu has made the communal question more difficult. He is in the majority in India and his idea is that India—the Treasure House of the Hindus—should not be thrown open to any one else. The difficulty is religious rather than racial. But the racial question may be a solution to some of the problems connected with Hindu Moslem animosity. Already in Asia, Asiatics are beginning to feel a common bond which unites them as against Europeans: that bond in India could surely be made more practical between Mohammedans and Hindus, and only they were to try. It is an undeniable fact, sad though it be, that in the past each community had much to answer for with regard to its treatment of the other. The only way to heal the wounds thus caused is by mutual understanding. To understand everything is to pardon everybody.

Undoubtedly after so many years of mutual misunderstanding and distrust the way to arrive at mutual understanding and trust is hard to define. But where there is a will there is a way. It is the duty of those Hindus and Mohammedans who are true believers in their respective faiths to follow the injunctions of their faiths with a view to finding a way to further the general good of India by each playing his part in the common service of humanity. Hindu and Mohammedan leaders may outwardly be friendly but they dare not come to a mutual agreement, because though they may be leaders in matters of religion, they are dominated by their followers. It is necessary for the leaders more closely to study the ideals of one another's faith and be prepared

to show that though their faiths differ, they are not necessarily conflictive. In India men must be taught to consider themselves as Indian so far as public life is concerned and Hindus and Mohammedans so far as their inner lives are concerned. It must not be thought that a Hindu cannot represent Mohammedan interest or that a Mohamedan cannot do justice to Hindu aspirations.

In Native States, especially in the Nizam's Dominion, Hindus are given prominence when they so deserve it, and there is no question whatsoever that they cannot and will not be "true guardians" of Mohammedans. Similarly in Mysore there is no question with regard to a Mohammedan being incompetent to safeguard Hindu interest. From such examples as these, both the Mahomedan and the Hindu in British India may broaden each his own mind and regard himself as an Indian representing Indian interests—Indian interests meaning common interests of the Hindus and Mahomedans. It is not a question of how many positions of importance go to either Community, though the general public are very jealous on this point. In fact, it is a question "who can serve best?" By such ideals alone will the Hindu and Mohammedan question lose its eclat and become not a stumbling block but rather help towards Indian advancement—the position that every Indian of whatsoever creed should wish for his country.

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The Bengal Jute

BY SOCHIPATI ROY, B. L.

THE systematic fall in the rural wealth of Bengal through depreciation of the price of jute has evoked a general clamour and has at last met with a response from the Legislature. The Economic Committee of the League of Nations observed in the Agricultural Crisis in 1931, page 58, thus : "Production must be controlled and maintained at a level corresponding to the requirements of consumption, in other words, a disastrous surfeit of supply must be prevented by a voluntary limitation. This affords a means of establishing prices at a level which will assure the agriculturist of a reasonable remuneration for his labour and capital". That is to say, the need for adjusting supply to demand, which is a sound economic dictum should be the key-note of the policy to be observed in controlling the jute industry. But what will be the *modus operandi* ?

The most important one, which now engages public attention is Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta's Bengal Jute Growers' Bill which has been ushered in the Bengal Legislative Council. The Bill, though salutary in some respects, is impracticable for the following, among other, reasons :—

1. Jute crop is produced in the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam. Hence, a Provincial Bill specially controlling the jute cultivation of Bengal is inadequate. If any Act is to be promulgated, it is to be enacted by the Central Government controlling jute cultivation in the other sister Provinces.

2. Another cadastral survey is to be made to ascertain the jute lands in the occupation of each tenant in each jute-growing district for preparing complete Register of jute lands by the Union Boards, as suggested in the Bill. This will entail a heavy drainage in the Public Exchequer and pecuniary loss to the tenants for bearing an additional settlement cost. Further, no steps to improve the value of jute can be taken until the final adjustment of the settlement work, i. e. a period of another 3 years.

3. The plenary power of working the provisions of the proposed Bill is vested in the Union Board, the lowest stratum of the administration. The Union Boards consist mostly of half-educated and perverse country-folk.

4. The main feature of the Bill i. e., the working of the village scheme, will in case of dispute, entail much loss of time and harassment which may finally result in the stoppage of jute cultivation ; as long time will elapse

between the filing of the case by the tenant and the enquiry into and hearing of the same by the Director of Agriculture.

5. The Bill as such will demand "an administration machinery too elaborate and expensive to make the experiment worth while."

6. Cultivation mainly depends upon weather—neither heavy shower nor drought is beneficial to its growth. So, rigid calculation in cultivating jute may cause scarcity resulting in the non-adjustment of demand and supply.

7. The Bill is penal. But it is the peasant who will set the ball in motion and this means dragging the poor cultivators to law courts and hastening their ruin.

So, opinions differ as to the Act of compulsion being an all-round success in regulating the price of jute. So, the following remedies have been suggested in its stead :—

1. Co-operative Jute Sale Societies or Association of Ryots are to be established. Now if this method is scrutinised, it will be seen that the system will be disappointing, for :—

- (a) The cultivators cannot give an assurance of the prospective crop.
 - (b) It is difficult to get assured purchasers in a fluctuating business.
 - (c) Mahajans will not allow jute to be removed to the societies until their claims are satisfied.
 - (d) Responsibility for risk in the fall of prices.
 - (e) Scepticism or hostility of members of the societies.
 - (f) Suspicious nature of cultivators, for they will not usually allow their jute to be taken out of sight unless they first get the value—so a difficulty about finance and advances arises. Again, each cultivator may contend that his jute is better than the average quality in the consignment, in which case disagreement will follow regarding the share of the sale-proceeds to be allotted to each member.
 - (g) Men of honesty and experience in charge of these societies are few.
 - (h) Large stock is sure to leave large surplus, which will lead to a heavy accumulation which takes several years to consume—consequently there is a reduced demand for new crop till the accumulated surplus is wiped out.
 - (i) Cost of transport of jute to the societies will handicap the poor cultivator.
2. Regulated markets are to be established. The futility of this is apparent because :—
- (a) The vast area over which jute is cultivated makes it impracticable to send consignments.

- (b) Large number of small cultivators producing a few maunds of jute may not find it profitable to take advantage of regulated markets.
 - (c) The convenience of the cultivators in disposing of crop in the village without taking the trouble of sending it to the distant regulated market.
 - (d) Difficulty of transport.
 - (e) Propaganda and boycott movement by Farias and Beparis.
3. Weight should be standardised. This is an ancillary process but not complete in itself.

4. Standards of quality should be definitely fixed. Of course, this is very important as absence of definite standards of quality for dealings in jute is very harmful to the interests of the cultivators as also to the merchants but this cannot control the surfeit.

So, it is apparent that these remedies are not sufficient in checking the erring and conservative tenant from regulating the cultivation or in helping him to get proper return of his crop. Hence, the benign Government, in accepting the recommendation of the Bengal Jute Enquiry Committee, is launching on propaganda work to regulate the growth on a voluntary basis.

The propaganda work by itself will not be successful in bringing round the cultivators. Some sort of sanction is essential behind it. But what will be nature of the Act? Methinks instead of taking the cumbrous procedure, as has been proposed by Dr. Sen Gupta, if any Bill is framed regulating the purchase of jute, the process of regulating the over-growth will be simple and easy. The Act may be entitled the Jute Purchaser's Act.

Necessary information regarding the annual demand of jute may be firmly demand from the Jute Mills Association, Local Commercial Associations, Indian Trade Commissioners and Foreign Organisations of Jute Importers.

Having regard to this, the Director of Agriculture of each Province may issue a communique every year to the Collector of each jute-growing district stating that so much jute is required in this particular year and such a quantity will be purchased from his district and such is the prevailing rate.

The Collector on receipt of this, should cause notice to be given to each Sub-divisional Officer under him, adjusting proportionately the quantity required from each Sub-division,

The S. D. O., on being informed of this, should immediately transit the Collector's report to each President of Union Board under him, informing him that so much jute is required for this particular year from his Union.

Such a notice shall be served on each Sub-Inspector of Police within the Union, who will circulate the same among jute planters by the

Chowkidars and the return thereof will be filed in the Police Stations duly signed and also purport thereof may be proclaimed on each Hat day by beat of drums through the Union Boards.

It has been noticed that in a particular year the purchase of jute is very brisk, the reason being that the Mill-owners at a point of vantage purchase a bulk of the commodity and stock the same for two or three years. Consequently, the demand necessarily becomes dull in the succeeding years when these Mill-owners remain inactive and the market rules quiet. This over-purchase at one time and abstention at another helps the over-growth of it.

Now, if an axe can be laid at the root of this sort of purchase by the Mill-owners and foreign purchasers, demand and supply can be firmly and properly regulated. The method is very simple—the issue of licences to intending purchasers by the Director of Agriculture.

The Director of Agriculture shall make annual enquiry from the Mill-owners and from agents of foreign purchasers about the quantity of jute they require. Having ascertained the same, the Director shall issue licences to each purchaser stating the requirement of jute. By virtue of these licences, each purchaser will be entitled to buy the required quantity, neither a fibre more nor less. Quite a similar practice is being followed by modern Germany in the purchase of wool.

The issue of license alone is not sufficient. Together with this, a purchase ticket is to be issued by each Union Board to each purchaser when the purchase is made, stating the quantity purchased, for which 1 anna is to be paid as toll by each purchaser.

If, inspite of this measure, any surplus remains, the same is to be destroyed, setting apart some portion for cultivators domestic use, in the presence of the village Chowkidar and the same is to be reported to the Thana.

By this process, the cultivator will be apprised of the general requirement for every year and he will be *voluntarily* made to cultivate crop according to demand.

In fine, the propaganda work which the Government is resorting to for training the peasantry to a standard cultivation, is too expensive and at the same time uncertain in its effect; inasmuch as, spasmodic lecturing in the farthest nooks and corners of the Province may be met with scant response. Lecturing or training whatever it is, on a firm basis, is in the purview of the University which can introduce the study of jute as a special subject in schools and colleges. In this way the utility or the value of the cultivation will ultimately be brought home to the tillers of the soil, who having a thirst for knowledge, now-a-days, are sending their children to schools and colleges for education.

This system will find enough scope for propaganda work and stands the chance of being understood and appreciated by the villagers.

The States and the Indian Federation

BY THE RAJA OF VIZIANAGRAM.

IT will not be to the benefit of British India if it were to be federated with the Indian States. The Indian States are almost pure autocracies. From what was expressed at the time of the introduction of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, British India was to become a dominion democracy like that of Australia. We, in British India, have been nurtured to believe that to govern ourselves will be to obtain the greatest happiness for ourselves. The idea of an autocracy governing us is repugnant to us. The highest ideal of civilisation is that all human beings should take interest in Government and try for the passage of laws which will be beneficial to them. To remain mute and let others govern them according to their pleasure could not be called a civilised state. If a few were allowed to govern an enormous populace, each time, the populace was injured due to some wrong measure of the governing few the only remedy open to the populace would be revolution. If the populace framed the laws and the executive executed them, the idea of revolution would almost never occur. For a huge populace to live in an angry state due to bad measures passed by an executive could not be good for their health. If our dominion were to be a federated one, we should bear in mind that British influence might never cease in the manner it has done in Australia etc. because of their control over the Indian States. A federated dominion of the Indian Empire will be a sham dominion. The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, due to their almost unsullied ideal of democracy, are far better than the proposed reforms because of their having federation with the Indian States as their most important feature. A democracy in which we might make unintentional mistakes but learn would be better than an autocracy in which we could learn nothing and be dependent on a few, namely, the Ruler and his or her executive for our happiness. To remain as children do eternally is absurd. The decision of the United States of America to grant complete independence to the Philippines ought to be followed by Britain and it ought to take immediate action for the handing over of the Government of British India to its people for preventing avoidable strife, for the creation of mental happiness to the British India Indians and for the good of humanity.



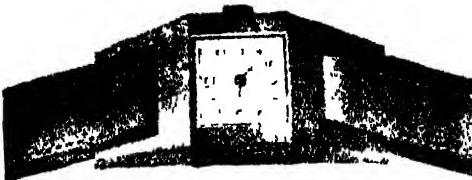
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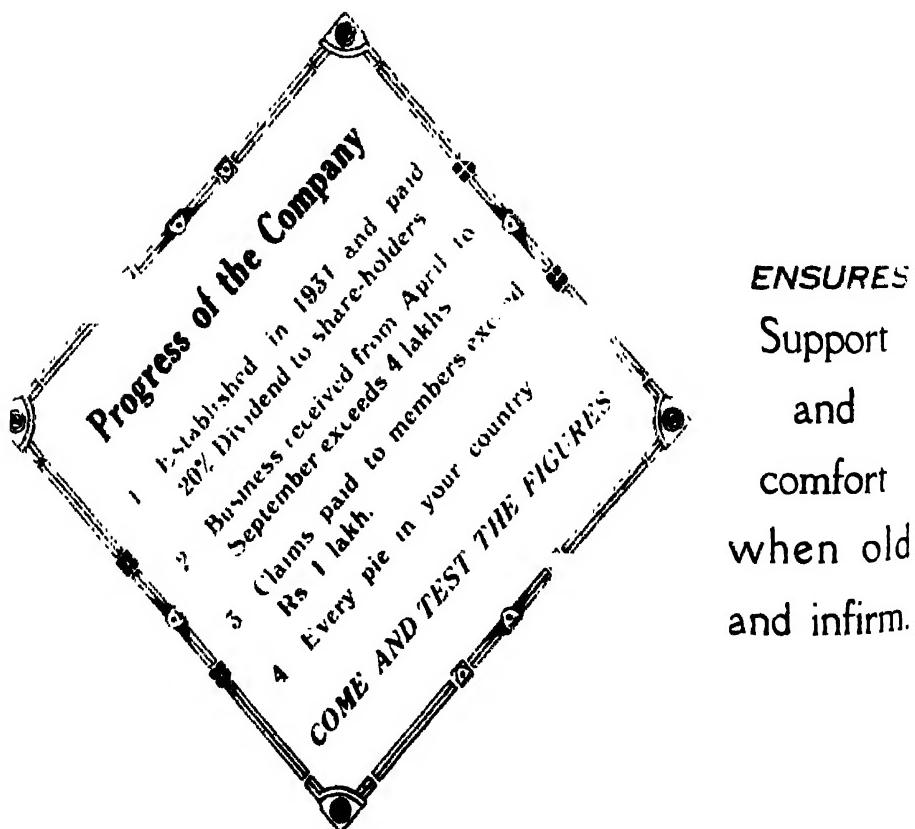
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Mr. Atul Chandra Chowdhuri OF BHANDARHATI, HOOGLY.

THE life of Mr. Atul Chandra Chowdhuri, the subject of this brief sketch, is a remarkable example of the victory of dogged determination over poverty and all its attendant handicaps, and falsifies the notion, all too common, that the zamindar class batten on the industry of others.

Mr. Chowdhuri was only a boy when his father died leaving him not merely almost penniless but also unequipped to wage life's battle against odds that would have cowed any ordinary youth. But Atul Chandra, although not possessed of even a modicum of wealth or that training which might reasonably be considered a *sine qua non* of success, was left a legacy which more than made up for these deficiencies, namely, a strong will and a determination to conquer his misfortune and rise above his circumstances. And these he accomplished with a perseverance which might be a model for our youths of to-day.

After the death of his father Atul Chandra left his village home in Bhandarhati in the district of Hooghly with his face set towards Calcutta where he was determined to find scope for his industry and capacity for downright hard work. He knew that no bed of roses awaited him in the metropolis; he knew that where thousands and thousands are engaged in a brutal struggle to survive, he would have to work, slave uncomplainingly if he meant to keep his head above water. But this knowledge did not deter him. In his native village he might have eked out a miserable living but he aspired to far greater things. In Calcutta Atul Chandra secured a job on Rs. 12 a month. But in spite of this mere pittance he never ceased to dream of lakhs. But it was not an idle dream; it was an inspiration which buoyed his spirits and energised his every activity. His purpose in the acquisition of wealth was not to pamper any vanity. He was now in the lowliest station of life—practically down-trodden by a society whose standard of success is the size and contents of one's coffer. He was determined to raise himself in the estimation of his fellow-beings.

For a period Atul Chandra clung to his lowly job but he realized that that would never enable him to reach his goal. In due course he sought fresh fields and pastures new. He turned his attention to business, for thus and thus only, he believed, he could achieve his purpose. His first

business was to supply mats to the ships in Calcutta port. More and more did it then dawn upon him that the economic salvation of his province lay not in the process of job-hunting or job securing. There could not possibly be jobs enough for all the youths of the province. What was vitally necessary was that young men should direct their energies along new channels; they must endeavour to capture the trade and commerce of the province and thus not merely help themselves but help also those who are less competent to create and hold commercial and trade enterprises.

Gradually Atul Chandra began to expand his work and seek more openings. The experience that he had gained he put to the best possible use. He was cautious but his cautions did not blind him to opportunities. From a supplier of mats to ships Atul Chandra became a stevedore and ship-chandler. At this time the Great War broke out and Atul Chandra's business went forward by leaps and bounds. Money flowed into his coffer and the dream of his youth became a reality. He invested his wealth in real estate and soon became a zemindar. Once he attained this position he began to look for ways and means of best serving his less fortunate fellow-beings. While engaged in the grim struggle to acquire wealth, Atul Chandra never forgot that the ultimate aim of man must be its utilization for human welfare. Well has he translated this aim into reality. He recognised that his charity must begin in his poor native village but need not necessarily end there. His village required many institutions, principal among these being a hospital. He decided, therefore, to establish one entirely at his cost and to hand over a sum of Rs. 10,000 to the District Board of Chinsurah towards its funds. Other institutions also benefited substantially from his munificence. The Bihar Earthquake Relief Fund also received considerable help from him. In this manner he is putting his hard-earned wealth to the use of his countrymen and proving, if proof were necessary, of the largeness of his soul.

Atul Chandra's life has been one of perpetual activity and even in this late stage—he is now 58—he does not spare himself. Throughout his life he has never failed to employ what scanty leisure he had in improving his mind and he has not ceased to do so now. With ampler leisure he devotes more and more time to intellectual pursuits setting an example to youth that it is never too late to learn. He possesses a library of the choicest books and, what is far more important, he has familiarised himself with their contents.

The life of Atul Chandra, we repeat, is an example of what perseverance in the pursuit of an ideal may achieve even in these days of stress and strain when one is often tempted to regard the successes of men who have conquered adversity and achieved fame as having been possible only because of a less keen competition. What was possible then is possible now.

Revolution or Evolution ?

BY N. K. BHATTACHARYYA, B. A.

A non-official resolution recommending the grant of State loans to landholders on long-term *kists* (fifty or more) in the Pudukotah Legislative Council evoked a scathing and senseless attack upon rich landholders. Mr. Vallatharasu one of the members opposing the resolution said :

"Rich landholders are a menace to the economic interests of the State. I would suggest to Government to confiscate their lands and lease them out to poor and hard-working ryots so that they might conserve and build up rural prosperity".

India is not the only country where this tendency, on the part of a certain section of the people, to indulge in loose and irresponsible utterances and catchy slogans with a view to secure cheap notoriety is gaining ground. Such utterances are not confined to any one particular field. They cover almost every department of human life being directed against the existing order of things, social, political, economic and religious.

The leaders of this section profess that they entertain no hatred or malice against any particular class or individuals or against any class of existing institutions and the basis of their creed is the betterment of the conditions in which humanity finds itself to-day. These leaders argue that existing order and institutions, have had enough of trial but that they have definitely proved utter failures in improving conditions of human life. They have not only not advanced the cause of progress but have proved insurmountable obstacles to any attempt at betterment. It would be a height of folly to cling to the existing order of things knowing it to be effete and thoroughly incapable of repaying the labours of working it. It would also, according to these leaders, do no appreciable good to reform or mend it with a view to affording scope for beneficence here and there. They would not tread the cautious and tentative path of reform. They are whole-hoggers and would demolish the existing order in order to build anew. In a word, revolution and not evolution is their watchword.

It is noteworthy that the brunt of their attack falls upon all holders of private property. They look upon the landholding institution as a relic of the past which, having lost all its utility, can be dispensed with, nay with profit, in this modern age. It is, according to them, a useless finery of which the world is no longer in need to-day.

We pity these expressions of opinion which are based on grossly perverted view of things and have arisen from a failure to comprehend the place of the institution in any scheme of social values. We are aware that these are but echoes of an extreme section of socialistic opinion of the West. These revolutionary reformers conveniently forget that one and only one among the countries of the world has thus far the temerity to translate expropriatory theories into practice—and even there the experiment has not been a generation old. They should have curbed their enthusiasm for it keeping in view its experimental nature or at least held it in reserve till the experiment could be declared a success. The behaviour of the rest of the Western world with regard to this pet scheme might well be as severe as an eye-opener to them.

But why, it may be asked, need we lose all our faith in the efficacy of evolution which has produced the world of today and advanced it admittedly from one stage of civilisation to another? Why may not the landowners who have a glorious record of public service in the past to their credit—in the maintenance of law and order, of conditions essential to the cultivation of arts, crafts and agriculture and even of religion, be used today as of old as beneficent agents in relation to humanity?

There is a lurking suspicion that the critics of the landholding community are not inspired by any genuine desire to usher in a better order of things. Their demand for expropriation in season and out of season appears more as an indication of a greedy look of the "have-nots" upon the property of the "haves" than anything else.

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Growth of Landlordism in Bengal

(Continued from October issue)

BY SACHIN SEN, M. A., B. L.

Advocate, Calcutta High Court.

THERE is a point of view which urges that the idea of absolute ownership is quite untenable in respect of land.

In understanding the term, "proprietary right" properly, they insist that there is no such thing as an absolute ownership of the soil vested in any private person. "As a matter of fact," as Dr. Field remarks, "no one ever did or can own land in any country i. e., in the sense of absolute ownership—such ownership as a man may have in movable property, as e. g., in a cow or a sheep, or in a table or a chair, which may be broken up and burned at the pleasure of the owner." In English law, no man is absolute owner of lands; he can only hold an estate in them, meaning the interest owned by an individual. In tracing the growth of private property, one finds that the "right of cultivating particular portions of the earth is rather a privilege than a property—a privilege first of the whole people, then of a particular tribe or a particular village community and finally of particular individuals of the community: in the last stage, land is partitioned off to those individuals as a matter of mutual convenience, but not as unconditional property; it long remains subject to certain conditions and to reversionary interests of the community, which prevent its uncontrolled alienation, and attach to it certain common rights and common burdens."* The advocates of this school hold that various parties have various interests in land and the "proprietary right" of the landlord exhibits a kind of interest which does not exhaust the bundle of rights. Even when and where the landlord is the actual proprietor, his interest is limited: the Government and the ryots have interests which cannot be brushed aside. According to them the Bengal zamindar even after the Permanent Settlement is not the absolute proprietor, firstly because, absolute proprietorship of land is not possible and was never claimed; secondly because, there are ryots with clear rights and Government with definite powers and in the latter sense only, the High Court Judges remarked in the Great Rent Case of 1865, that "the Regulations teem with provisions quite incompatible with any notion of the zamindar being absolute proprietor."

* Sir George Campbell in his "Essay on Indian Land Tenures", Cobden Club papers.

Mr. Justice Trevor tersely put his case when he said that though recognised as actual proprietors of the soil, the zamindars and others entitled to a settlement were not absolute proprietors and that the zamindars enjoyed their estates subject to and limited by the rights and interests in land possessed by subordinate parties requiring protection and that the notion of an absolute estate in land is as alien from the Regulation Law as it is from the old Hindu and Mahammadan law of the country.

Mr. Justice Macpherson sang in the same tune and remarked : "As regards the legislation from 1793 down to Act X (of 1858), it in my opinion shows clearly that the zamindar never was, and never was intended to be, the absolute proprietor of the soil."

Mr. Justice Seton Kerr remarked : "Neither by Hindu, by Mahomedan, or by Regulation law was any absolute right of property in land vested in the zamindar to the exclusion of all other rights ; nor was any absolute estate created in favour of that class of persons. The ryot has by custom, as well as by law, what we may term a beneficial interest in the soil." Mr. Justice Campbell said similar things. Mr. Justice Norman said that the zamindars were by the Regulations constituted owners of the land but such ownership was not absolute.

Sir Barnes Peacock did not agree with the actual decision in the Great Rent Case. Sir Henry Main* said that the greatest change after the Regulation of 1793 was "the growth on all sides of the sense of individual rights, of a right not vested in the total group, but in a particular member of it aggrieved." It is undoubted that the Legislature for the first time in 1793 declared that the property in the soil was vested in the zamindars and that they might alienate or burden that property at their pleasure without the previously obtained sanction of Government. The zamindar got absolute right to their properties with complete powers of alienation, "the rights of all subordinate holders were necessarily derivative therefrom ; and the ascertainment, definition and enforcement of them immediately fell within the province of the public courts of Justice.

Mr. Shore definitely held that the zamindars were proprietors : any interference by the Government in his opinion, would be an invasion of proprietary right and an assumption of the character of landlord which belongs to the zamindar. Lord Cornwallis admitted the proprietary rights of the zamindars and opined that "the grant of these lands at a fixed assessment will stamp a value upon them hitherto unknown and by the facility which it will create of raising money upon them either by mortgage or sale will provide a certain fund for the liquidation of public or private demands or prove an incitement to exertion and industry by securing the fruits of those qualities in the tenure to the proprietors' own benefit."

The question of the proprietary character of the landlords was hotly discussed in the eighties of the last century when the Bengal Tenancy

* Village Communities, p. 73.

Legislation in derogation of many of the rights of the zamindar was hatched. The landholders of Bengal and Bihar submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State in the early eighties of the last century wherein they urged (1) that the zamindar was not a creation of the settlement but a survival from days long before the reign of Akbar, as shown by the fact that many of the oldest families can trace their origin to a period anterior to that reign and in some cases even anterior to the Mahamadan rule, (2) that the land tax paid by them was practically permanent and remained unchanged from the time of that illustrious monarch to the stormy days of Cossim Ally's misrule, nearly a century and a half, (3) that the established principle of Moghul finance was that the rents belonged to the sovereign and the lands to the zamindar, (4) that the Emperors of Delhi used to purchase lands from the zamindars in recognition of their proprietary rights, (5) that the language of the charge formulated by the House of Commons against Warren Hastings contained in express words the clearest and most solemn admission of such proprietary right, (6) that Hastings himself in his memoirs never denied its existence but sought to palliate his violation of it by a pretended anxiety for the welfare of the landlords themselves, (7) that the statute 24 Geo: III C 25-Sec. 39 read in the light of the instructions issued by the Court of Directors assumed that the zamindars had proprietary rights in the soil, (8) that the despatch of that Court dated 21st August 1788 declared that the zamindars had a hereditary tenure in their possessions, that many of them could trace back their rights to days coeval with the conquest of Akbar and that the idea of this right had been repeatedly sanctioned in discussions in Parliament, in the decisions of courts, and in the practice of Government.

This memorial was criticised by Mr. MacDonnell, Revenue Secretary to the Government of Bengal who ridiculed their case as made up of "ill-remembered fragments of history and ill-understood passages of law." Mr. MacDonnell contended that the standpoint which stated that during the Moghul days the rents belonged to Sovereign and the land to the zamindars was fallacious inasmuch as "the authorities maintain that by "zamindars" in that context is meant the actual cultivators of the soil (arbab-i-zamin); the truth is, says the famous Hanifat lawyer Abu Mohamed Saraksi, that between the Sovereign and the rub-ul-araz who is properly cultivator, no one intervenes who is not a servant of the Sovereign." It is true that the firman issued by the Emperor Alamgir contains the phrase, "arbab-i-zamin" but according to responsible authorities, the meaning of "arbab" which is plural of "rub" is lord or master and not cultivator. "Rub-ul-araz" is rendered by Professor Wilson as meaning proprietor or master of land. Sir John Shore and Harrington understand the terms in the sense taken by Professor Wilson and others.

The facts and circumstances were eloquent in favour of the contention that the land belonged to the zamindars during the Moghul Government and Sir John Shore held that view on the following grounds:

(a) the policy of the Moghul Government conceded the right of private property and the language of the firman of Aurangzeb pointed to the proprietary character of the zamindars,

(b) the mode in which public sales for arrears of revenue were conducted, the forms which were gone through, the admitted need of the signature of the previous zamindar, the application of the sale-proceeds towards the payment of arrears—all point to the existence of the right of ownership in the zamindars,

(c) that in the case of private sales of zamindaries the transfer was effected by the former zamindars,

(d) that zamindaries were heritable and capable of devolution by right of succession.

The memorialists held that the Emperors of Delhi made purchases from the zamindars. Mr. MacDonnell asserts that "the document on the strength of which the statement is made postulates that the zamindar is a payer of revenue." It is not true. If we turn to Harrington's analysis, we find the question "Why did the king or Nazim purchase lands since he had the power to take them?" The question is answered by two native gentlemen who, according to Sir John Shore, from their situation or knowledge, either possessed or had means of acquiring information. They say—"A zamindar is a payer of revenue; by ancient usage the revenue belongs to the emperor and the soil to the zamindar, the emperor keeping in view the practice of former times considered the taking of land without paying for it as an act of oppression and in this persuasion they adopted the contrary method because it appeared to them founded in right."

Mr. MacDonnell quoting from the report of the Committee of Revenue in 1786 made out that their definition of zamindar as constructed from the terms of sanads or patents of investiture precluded the idea of ownership. The Court of Directors in their letter dated the 20th of August, 1788, condemned the character of that definition. It was a fact that many of zamindars at the time of the Permanent Settlement were the lineal descendants of those persons who possessed lands before and after the conquest of Bengal by the Emperor Akbar. Mr. Dundas, President of the Board of Control, was satisfied, according to Mr. Rouse, the Secretary to that Board, about the hereditary title of the zamindars. The Governor-General Mr. Hastings and Mr. Barwell maintained the same opinion. Sir Philip Francis observed—"The land is the hereditary property of the zamindar. He holds it by the law of the country on the tenure of paying a certain contribution to Government". Mahammed Reza Khan in his work entitled "State of Bengal" remarked that the Princes had no immediate property in the lands. Sir Philip Francis writing in 1775 said: "It is material to observe that the late administration who either dispossessed most of the zamindars of their management of the lands or took no measures to restore them constantly describe them as the hereditary proprietors."

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Francis in his minute in 1776 observed : "The inheritable quality of the lands is alone sufficient to prove that they are the property of the zamindars, talukdars and others, to whom they have descended by a long course of inheritance—when the Moghuls conquered Bengal, there is no mention in any historical account that they dispossessed the zamindars of their lands, though it is frequently observed that when they voluntarily came in, they were received with marks of honour and that measures were used to gain and secure their attachment." Sir John Shore records in a similar strain : "For my part, the further I have carried my enquiries, the more firmly I am convinced that the state in which we received the rich provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa was a general state of hereditary property, modified certainly according to the nature and customs of the Government which has prevailed there, but nevertheless existing with important benefit to the possessors according to the universal sense of the people; sanctioned by the constant practice of the native princes and established by immemorial usage from one end of the country to the other. I did imagine that this question had received its decision by the common consent of all political parties in the kingdom; resulting from the minute examinations which had been made into the subject, at a period when correct local knowledge was attainable; and by the voice of several statutes passed by the two last Parliaments, in the year 1781 and 1784, in which, amongst many salutary regulations, the zamindars and other landholders are distinguished from persons holding mere official nominations and marked as a class of men eminently entitled to the national protection."

Whatever the rights of the ante-settlement zamidars might have been, it is clear that the Regulations declared the zamindars actual proprietors of the soil. The issue is narrowed down to this: the one party puts upon the words, "the actual proprietors of the soil", their full and ordinary meaning, and the other party maintains that the Government conveyed by the settlement simply a qualified ownership. We have seen that the zamindar before the settlement was an owner of land endowed with the power of sale and the right of inheritance. Moreover, there are passages in the Regulations from which inference is irresistible that the zamindars have been declared as owners of lands. The 6th article of the Proclamation of 1793 states that the proprietors of land will exert themselves in the cultivation of their lands under the certainty that they will enjoy exclusively the fruits of their good management and industry: the preamble of the second Regulation of 1793 states that no power will then exist in the country by which the rights vested in the landholders by the Regulations can be infringed or the value of landed property affected and similar other passages go to prove the real intention of the Settlement. The Court of Directors in their despatch of the 19th of September, 1792 clearly stated that their object was to establish "real, permanent, valuable landed rights and to confer such rights upon the zamindars."

The confusion about the proprietary character of the Bengal landlords

that existed could be traced to the attempt to assimilate the complicated system found in Bengal with the simple principles of landlord and tenant in England. The English theorists were governed by such a confusion with the result they made desparaging remarks about the proprietary and hereditary character of the landlord. Harrington points out: "If by the terms "proprietor of land" and "actual proprietor of the soil" be meant a landholder possessing the full rights of an English landlord or free-holder in fee simple, with equal liberty to dispose of all the lands forming part of his estate, as he may think most for his own advantage; to oust his tenants on the termination of their respective leaseholds; and to advance their rents on the expiration of his leases at his discretion; such a designation, it may be admitted, is not strictly and correctly applicable to a Bengal zamindar, who does not possess so unlimited a power over the khoodkast ryots and other descriptions of under-tenants possessing as well as himself certain rights and interests in the lands which constitute his zamindary." Colonel Wilks lifts the veil of confusion to a considerable extent when he says:—"In England a proprietor of land who farms it out to another is generally supposed to receive as rent a value equal to about one-third of the gross produce. This proportion will vary in different countries according to circumstances, but whatever it may be, the portion of it which remains after payment of the demands of the public may safely be described as the proprietor's share of the produce of his own lands; that which remains to him after defraying all public taxes and all charges of management. Wherever we can find this share and the person entitled to receive it, him we may without the risk of error, consider as the proprietor, and, if the right has descended to him by fixed rules from his ancestors, as the hereditary proprietor."

According to this definition, it is to be said that the zamindar of Bengal is an hereditary proprietor: "his zamindary descends to his legal heirs by fixed rules of inheritance. It is also transferable by sale, gift or bequest. And he is entitled to a certain share of the rent produce if it be taken out of his management." Those who hold that the peculiar tenure of a zamindar under the Mussalman government of Bengal partook more of the nature of an hereditary office with certain rights and privileges than of a proprietary estate in land, should remember that "if the zamindary be even an office, and such office give possession of land, which has by claim or custom descended from father to son or to collaterals, with other circumstances incidental to property such as mortgage, alienation, bequest or adoption, it is in reality a landed inheritance."

The changes in the position of the zamindar brought about by the Permanent Settlement are significant. The settlement declared the zamindars as the proprietors of the soil. It reduced the Government interference with the rights of the zamindars: the State resumed the functions which it had hitherto performed through the zamindars, but attempted no interference with the work of assessment and realisation of rent paid by the cultivators. In fact, the ancient system of minute scrutiny and

supervision over the work of the zamindar was abandoned with the hope that the zamindars, left free, would look to the improvement of their zamindaries.

In numberless places in the Cornwallis Code, the zamindars were styled as proprietors of the soil but, Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy contended that nothing particular was meant by the expression. To prove how illusory this proprietorship was from the first understood to be, Mr. O'Kineally cited a case decided in 1811 by the Sudder Dewany Adawlutt :—

"I will now refer to a case decided in 1811, as a striking illustration confirming the opinion I hold in regard to the effect of the Permanent Settlement, and the limitations on the character of the proprietary right of the zamindars as established by it. In Beerbboom there had existed from a long time a *Loha* Mehal, or collections from the digging and smelting of iron within the estate, similar to the *Nimak* Mehal or salt revenue. The revenues of this mehal were, at the Permanent Settlement, kept separate from those arising out of cultivation. Subsequently the mehal was sold, and soon after a dispute arose as to the rights of the "proprietor" of the permanent settlement and the purchaser. The former declared that the rights to the mines and the places of manufacture followed the property in the land in which they lay; the latter that the proceeds of the mines formed one branch of revenue, that the zamindar had paid a distinct assessment on it, and that the right to the mines went with the sale of the mehal, not with the Permanent Settlement. On inquiry it was ascertained that, according to the custom of the place, the *Loha* Mehal had been separately assessed. The Sudder Dewany held that the proprietor could not restrain the miner, who was entitled to work old mines, and open new ones according to established usage. I suppose nothing could bring out in stronger relief the difference between rights of property in England and India than this case. The common law of the land carved a perpetual mining lease out of the proprietary rights of a landowner as viewed from the standpoint of English Law."

The case referred to is the case of *Gooroopershad Bose versus Bisnoochurn Hajra*, fully reported in Macnaghten's Select Reports Vol. I, pp. 451-60, New Edition. There is no doubt that Mr. O'Kineally has misread the facts of the case.

It appears, then, from Macnaghten's report (1) that the zamindary of Beerbboom, including the *Loha* Mehal, had been permanently settled with the Rajah of Beerbboom; (2) that the profits of the *Loha* Mehal had been, all along, from a time long before the Permanent Settlement, kept separate in the Rajah's private accounts from the general rents and profits of the zamindary, and that the assessment paid by him to Government on account of the *Loha* Mehal was likewise entered separately in the accounts of Government; (3) that the plaintiff became the purchaser of the whole *Loha* Mehal in 1799, and the defendant had purchased

a particular pergunnah in the zamindary in 1796; (4) that the former in his plaint alleged that the "Loha Mehal had continued the property of the Rajah of Beerbboom, till the year 1205, Bengal era, corresponding with the year 1799 A. D., when it was sold," and that by his purchase he "had acquired the whole of the former zamindar's rights in the iron mines of his zamindary"; and (5) that the latter insisted that by his previous purchase of the pergunnah he was entitled to so much of the profits of the Loha Mehal as were derived from the mines and manufactories within his pergunnah. It is clear that both parties claimed under the "proprietor" of the Permanent Settlement, and the only question was, what portion of his rights had passed to the plaintiff, and what portion to the defendant. It was found on the trial that the plaintiff's allegations were true, and that the deed of sale from the Rajah in favour of the defendant, although it particularised with great minuteness the rights and property conveyed to him, contained no mention of the mines, and manufactories in the land sold. The decree which was ultimately made by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut was in favour of the plaintiff, who was declared entitled, according to the established usage, to the profits of the entire Loha Mehal, including those derived from the mines, and manufactories in the pergunnah purchased by the defendant, and also entitled to open new mines in that pergunnah on condition of making to the defendant "a full and liberal compensation for the value of any land which may be rendered unfit for cultivation."

The restrictions on the powers of the zamindars are to be found in Regulation VIII of 1793. Section 52 says that the zamindar is at liberty to let the remaining lands (that is, all the lands of the estate save the lands in the possession of dependent talookdars, istemrardars and mocrerrydars) in any manner he may think proper subject to the prescribed restriction : firstly, if he elects to let his lands in farm, the farmer shall not be authorised to collect rent from the ryots unless he is armed with an amilnamah; secondly, he shall consolidate all abwabs and mahtoot with the assul into one specific sum; thirdly, he shall not impose any new abwab or mahtoot; fourthly, he shall vary the pottah if the species of produce is changed for the remainder of the term, or for a longer period, if agreed on; fifthly, he shall specify the exact rent or rate of rent in the pottahs given to ryots; sixthly, he shall register the forms of these pottahs in the Zillah court; seventhly, he shall grant pottahs to ryots who may also demand pottahs from him; eighthly, he shall allow all existing leases to ryots to remain, until the period of their expiration, and as regards Khoodekhast ryots, he shall not cancel their pottahs unless within the last three years their rent has been reduced below the pergunnah rate ; but he could cancel all pottahs procured by collusion. Under Regulation XLIV, 1793, the zamindar is prohibited from granting pottahs to any ryot for a term exceeding ten years.

After the settlement, zamindar's nankar, khamar and neej-jote lands were resumed and assessed, "unless held from before the accession to the

Dewany." Waste lands included in the zamindary were not liable to assessment upon being brought into cultivation. Remissions of revenue were altogether stopped. Under Regulation XXII of 1793, landlords are to preserve the peace of the country : this was repealed as obsolete by Act XXIX of 1871.

The general effect of the settlement was that the zamindar was detached from the Government : naturally he lost some of his former privileges and emoluments. The following from the pen of the Right Hon. T. Pemberton Leigh is illuminating :

"Many of the greater zamindars, within their respective zamindaries, were entrusted with rights, which properly belonged to the Government. They had authority to collect from the ryots a certain portion of the gross produce of the lands. They, in many cases, imposed tolls, and they increased their income by fees, perquisites, and similar exactions, not wholly unknown to more recent times and more civilised nations. On the other hand, they were bound to maintain peace and order, and administer justice within their zamindaries and, for that purpose, they had to keep up Courts of Civil and Criminal Justice, to employ kazees, cannon-goes, and tannahdars, or a police force. But while as against the ryots and other inhabitants within their territories many of these potentates exercised almost regal authority, they were, as against the Government, little more than stewards or administrators... It was considered by the East India Company that the first step towards a better system of Government and the amelioration of the condition of their subjects, would be to convert the zamindars into landowners, and to fix a permanent annual jummah or assessment to the Government, according to the existing value, so as to leave to land proprietors the benefit of all subsequent improvements." Raja Lelanund Singh *vs.* The Bengal Government, 6 Moore, pp. 108-110.

The proprietary rights of the zamindars subject to certain limitations stand undisputed. There is one reservation in the Cornwallis Code which says :

"It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people and more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talookdars, ryots and other cultivators of the soil : and no zamindar, independent talookdar or other actual proprietor of land shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay."

On the strength of this provision, the Legislature has thought fit to cut down the rights of the zamindars. Thus, much depends on the interpretation of this reservation. The interpretation of this reservation is to be governed by the preamble of Regulation II of 1793 which contains

these significant words : "No power will then exist in the country by which the rights vested in the landholders by the Regulations can be infringed or the value of landed property affected."

It is to be noted that the power reserved by the Governor-General in Council by Clause I, Section 8, Regulation I of 1793 is expressly reserved on behalf of dependent talookdars and ryots and as against zamindars but "there was no similar power reserved on behalf of the ryots as against the dependent talookdars. If it can be shown that the tenancy legislations of Bengal have given powers to the ryots to the detriment of the dependant talookdars—a position which can easily be proved—it can legitimately be said that they do not come within the plain meaning of the reservation. Moreover, the assurance given in the preamble of Regulation II is not to be whittled down. "It would be absurd to suppose that the Governor-General in Council when he declared the zamindars to be proprietors of the soil, in the same breath told them that he kept in reserve a power, to be sprung upon them whenever he chose by which proprietary rights or the value of their landed property could be interfered with or affected, and nevertheless gave them distinctly to understand that they should not expect the remission of a single rupee in the assessment which was fixed at ten-elevenths of the then existing value of their zamindaries."

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LEND YOUR SUPPORT TO INDIAN INDUSTRY

Zemindars and Zemindari Administration

BY DR. B. C. LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

THE paramount duty of a zemindar is to look to the interests of his tenants. He should not be too exacting and oppressive. It is essential that cordial relations should exist between a landlord and his tenants. A zemindar should look upon his tenants as his children.

Such improvements as the establishment of free schools and charitable dispensaries, the opening of khals, bhils and canals for irrigation and construction and maintenance of roads etc., must play a very conspicuous part in the activities of a zemindar.

In districts where the tenants depend mainly upon the production of jute and paddy, it is desirable that zemindars should spare no pains in inducing them to cultivate other kinds of crops, so that in case of unsatisfactory production of jute or rice, they may not find difficulty in getting money to pay rents and meet other necessary expenses.

In Bengal it is often heard that the financial position of zemindars is deplorable. Why? The reason seems to be that zemindars are extravagant. They do not keep an eye on their income and expenditure, hence

this state of affairs. Zemindars should improve their financial status so that they may be well honoured by their tenants as well as by the public.

A zemindar must also know that it is his paramount duty to be absolutely loyal to Government, rendering all the assistance that he can. The observance of law and order must be a part of his creed, inasmuch as he cannot exist nor maintain his position in an atmosphere of indiscipline and confusion.

Zemindars should realize the indispensable need of proper education to enable them to manage their estates without depending entirely upon their amlas and managers. Sir P. C. Ray in an article published in a Bengali monthly has done injustice to the zemindars of Bengal by



Dr. B. C. Law

accusing them of indifference to education. So far from this being true, it is undeniable that zemindars as a rule hold education in the highest regard. If the learned chemist cares to read the family history of zemindars in Bengal, he will see that his opinion is wrong. Many zemindars in Bengal, as for example, the Sobhabazar family of Calcutta, the Burdwan, Nashtpur, Mymensingh, Tahirpur, Cassimbazar, Susang and other families, to mention but a few, are votaries of learning. Their children are being given proper education. Learned men all over the world are much favoured by the wealthy people and learning is much adored in every zemindar family. Several educational institutions have been established and are maintained by zemindars. Examples of this kind are not rare in Bengal.

Many zemindars are now-a-days engaging themselves in commercial pursuits but in most cases it is heard that they are not doing well. They ought to show to the world that they have fine business acumen. Some have opened jute mills, cotton mills, oil mills, etc., but they should see that their business prospers. Indians like Europeans should give personal attention to their businesses in stead of depending mainly on their employees, however nearest and dearest they may be.

**FOR
SILK GARAD**

INDIAN SILK KUTHI

* 63, COLLEGE STREET, CALCUTTA. *

Preservation of Manure AND Improvement of the Soil.

BY ANAND PRASAD AGRAWAL, B.A., LL.B.

Since the advent of the present political agitation and the linking of the agrarian problem with such agitation, the question is being very frequently asked as to how the present impasse is to be relaxed. The words "co-operation", "cordial relations", "healthy feelings between zamindars and tenants" and so on are being used by the highest to the lowest officer, by leaders of different shades of political opinion and by the zamindars and tenants themselves.

From the first two classes, these words emanate as advice from the experienced and the far-sighted, whereas by the latter the same words are echoed as things, for which we should strive and achieve. On the other hand, the spirit of non-cooperation, with everything good or evil, is pervading the whole country, and any attempt to establish co-operation is met with disaster.



Mr. Anand Prasad Agrawal.

In this atmosphere it is simply impossible to satisfy the people and to improve their lot, unless some tangible steps are taken to restore confidence in and continue the respect for the zamindars, which the tenants had and still have. With this aim in view I had, through the pages of this journal, tried to suggest the immense possibilities of fruit cultivation. The same idea has

now prompted me to again trespass on the journal and ventilate my opinion on another factor of agrarian problem, which not only impoverishes the people, but also the soil, from the produce of which alone, the cultivators can hope to improve their conditions.

A very large part of the manure that should go into the soil to increase its productiveness is used as fuel for cooking the food, for warming the dwellings and other purposes, and every person who visits villages and sees the fields and houses of the cultivators, and who takes any interest or has any thought about the products of the soil, is at once struck

by this most important, unprofitable and ruinous practice. The general practice prevalent in the villages is that the cow-dung is plastered in cakes on the walls of the houses to dry in the sun. Sometimes it is kept for the use of the householders; sometimes it is sold in the town for the use of people there. From east to west and from north to south this use of a very valuable manure is the general practice, and the mere fact that this is done is sufficient to condemn the existing state of affairs in rural area.

It is not a question that admits of any doubt. Every agricultural scientist, every agricultural chemist and every one interested in agriculture would give the same answer, and he would say that every crop, which is grown in the soil contains materials which are taken out of the land, such as nitrogen, phosphoric acid, etc. These things are essential to the growth of a plant, and after a crop has been repeated for a good many years the soil gets impoverished and good crops can no longer be obtained. And the only way to maintain the fertility of the soil is to restore to it as much as possible those substances which are taken away from it.

Some nitrogen is introduced into the soil every year by the rains, but that is not enough to compensate for the amount taken out in the crop. In some places in India, where lands are flooded by the overflowing of the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and many other rivers, the land is manured by nature. This insures the fertility of the soil, although it is quite possible that even on those lands the addition of manure of another kind may effect great benefit. But on those lands which are not annually enriched by the deposits of a flooding river, it is absolutely essential, if the fertility of the soil is to be maintained, that manure should be added to the land.

In foreign countries, it is customary to supply nitrogen in some mineral form, such as nitrate of soda or sulphate of ammonia obtained from gas works and coke ovens. Another most important mineral is potassium that is essential to the growth of the plant. The restoration of phosphoric acid to the soil is essential for every kind of agriculture.

In India it is a common thing to grow green crops, which whilst green are ploughed in the field and supply the land with nitrogen. The growing of leguminous plants restores nitrogen to the soil. A suitable crop is often sown, and when well-grown is ploughed into the land when green; this is effective, but causes the loss of that season.

A great part of these are contained in the dung of the cattle, cows, bulls, buffaloes, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, mules and camels. This dung contains phosphates, potash and nitrates, humus and other things of great value and without those things the soil cannot give a good return of cultivation.

In his book entitled "Intensive Farming in India", Mr. John Kenny, gives the result of manure on the production of grain, as shown by

experiments at the Burdwan Government Farm. When the land was not manured the output of grain per acre was 1374 lbs. and of straw 2174 lbs. When 100 maunds of cowdung was applied, the amount of grain was increased to 3556 lbs. and the straw to 4479 lbs.

Dr. J. W. Leather, writing in the "Agricultural Ledger" on Indian manure in 1897, says, "The conclusion which we may draw from these experiments (the increase in the harvests due to cattle manure) is that with an application of 6 tons per acre of cattle manure, there will be obtained an increase of some 300 to 400 lbs. of wheat per acre in the North-West Provinces or Bengal and at Nagpur from 200 to 300 lbs.

In dealing with human excreta, preserved in the form of poudrette, Dr. Leather gives the following result of fifteen years' trial:"

No Manure Average Grain 1083 lbs. per acre.

Poudrette..... Average Grain 1603 lbs. per acre.

Mr. Ashburner, c. s. i, Revenue Collector is quoted to have said in a book called "The Indian Problem Solved" to the effect: "The present production does not amount to one quarter of what the land ought to produce. The want of proper manure is one thing, the ignorance of proper methods of cultivation is another. "Sir Bartle Frere giving evidence before a Select Committee in 1871 said, "No system of mineral manuring has been attempted in India. There is a great waste of manure in fuel owing to the want of fire-wood."

It is very easy to go on citing men of great eminence, who have declared that one of India's chief wants is manure for the soil, to maintain its fertility and to increase its productiveness. It is many years since scientists, chemists and agriculturists have pointed out that this burning of the manure as fuel was wrong and ruinous. But the ordinary answer is: "Oh ! it cannot be helped, there is no other supply of fuel for the poor people." Yet this is not done everywhere in India, for I am told that this practice is not prevalent in Gujarat. In that part of India, there are plantations from which fuel can be cut for the use of the inhabitants and which also provide shelter and food for the cattle. What can be done in Gujarat can be done all over the rest of India. And since for a poor countryside which obtains in India, the only immediate source of manure-supply is the cowdung, it is necessary to supply the cultivators with wood or coal for their fuel requirements.

It need not be understood that the Indian people are forced to burn cowdung for fuel because India is short of timber and short of coal. India has abundance of timber and abundance of coal. It is only because of the extreme poverty of the people and the indifference of those, whose chief aim ought to be to look after their interests, that there is any shortage of fuel, either wood or coal, in the huts of the people.

Now the area of India is, roughly speaking, about forty times the size of England and Wales, it being 1,152,000,000 acres and excluding the Native States, it is about 700,000,000 acres. There are about 88,000,000

acres of forests in British India, under Government control. There is in addition a large area of forests which is not under Government control. When we consider that the entire area of England and Wales is about 47,000,000 acres and that the area of controlled forests in India is nearly twice as great, we begin to realise the enormous extent of the Indian forests. These forests can supply 100,000,000 tons of wood every year, wood suitable for fuel, without in any way damaging them or reducing the production of timber suitable for building and timber work of all kinds.

But the most important forests, situate as they are in the Himalayas, in Burma and on the Western Ghats, are not easily accessible for the supply of wood fuel and it would be necessary to make a good many new railways into these forests in order to get at the timber. It would involve a considerable outlay of capital. But this outlay would be amply repaid, if there was an increase of the crops of say 20 per cent, because these crops are worth approximately Rs. 10,000,000,000 and an increase of 20 per cent would therefore be worth 2,000,000,000 rupees. Now a light railway might be made at a cost of something like Rs. 50,000 a mile, that is 2000 miles for Rs. 1,000,000,000; that is to say, the outlay might be repaid twice over in one year. But if the increase in crops was only 5 per cent, that would pay 50 per cent on the cost of these railways, looking at the matter entirely as a national outlay and national benefit.

There is, of course, another way of providing the fuel and that is to supply coal to all villages. There is plenty of coal in India and a demand for another 20,000,000 tons a year could be fully met in the course of five years, and in every village where there is not sufficient supply of wood fuel, coal might be sent, so that there should be no excuse for continuing the present practice of burning manure. Doubtless, it would cost a great deal to convey the coal to some places a long distance from the mine, but even the great cost would be better than burning up the manure.

But there are two great obstacles. Whether the fuel be supplied by means of wood brought from long distances by new railways, or by coal brought from long distances, also requiring new railways, it would be a long time before all these new railways were made and the new coalmores developed. The other and by far the most important reason is that the Indian Government has no capital, and it could only get the money by borrowing. It would have no difficulty in borrowing, only it would have to raise the money to pay the interest on the loan by means of taxation, and since the people will not like to pay additional taxation, the Government would not like to make itself disagreeable in that way more than can be helped.

It might therefore easily be asked: "Is there no quicker and cheaper mode of providing the cultivator with his small wants in the shape of fuel? The question then arises: "What is the quantity required?" We have to work this out on an approximate assumption. If we assume that on the average the cattle including cows, bulls, buffaloes, horses, mules, donkeys, pigs, sheep and goats are equivalent to as much as one ox per

head of the agricultural population and that one ox will give 1½ds tons of dry manure in a year, then for a family of five we will have about 8 tons of dry manure. If one-half of that is burnt, about 4 tons of dry manure is wasted. Then assuming that dry wood is twice as good as dry manure and one ton of coal equals two tons of wood, we would require 2 tons of dry wood or 1 ton of coal every year per family of agricultural population. The population engaged in agriculture is about 170,000,000 in British India, and taking on the average each household consisting of 5 persons, there are 34,000,000 households, which on the average require 2 tons of dry wood or one ton of coal per annum. We may therefore assume that 68,000,000 tons of dry wood or 34,000,000 tons of coal are required to supply the needs of the country in addition to the present supply.

If plantations were immediately begun in every district, in two or three years' time there would be a sufficiency of wood grown on the spot, and save the cost of transport; and if at the same time a general system of afforestation was started and carried out with energy, there is no doubt that in a few years, Indian agriculture and Indian prosperity would be on the up-grade.

Of course, the question immediately arises, as to how should the manure be saved from being burnt whilst the plantations were growing. Probably to supply all the cultivators with the fuel they require at once would cost about Rs. 200,000,000. There is another method as well. Instead of supplying the cultivators with fuel so that the land might be manured with cowdung, they might be supplied with artificial manure. From enquiries made, I have been able to gather that sufficient artificial manure to supply lands whilst cowdung was being burnt, would require approximately £ 60,000,000 a year. This problem is also beset with two difficulties—the first being financial stringency and the other being the incapacity of the world to supply to India sufficient quantities of artificial manure at once, because other people would have to go short.

But there is no reason, why a beginning should not be made immediately. And there are two agencies to begin it. The first is the Government. If the Government should decide that it would undertake to increase the prosperity of Indian agriculture, they should at once issue instructions to the Forest Department and to the Officers-in-charge of each district to take in hand the plantation of sufficient trees, canes or other plants, which would supply fuel; and if the Government guaranteed the expense, there is no reason why a great deal of planting should not be done in a few months and year by year the quantity would gradually increase so that after a few years there would be sufficient fuel grown in or near each locality where it was required.

The other agency consists of zamindars and tenants. In almost all the zamindaries, there is a certain portion of the land, which is uncultivable for agricultural purposes. It is also found that it is useless to invest

money to make such lands fit for agricultural purposes, for the investment is far in excess of the return expected. But such lands are not wholly worthless. Some timber plants can very easily be grown in such lands, and therefore I suggest that the zamindars and tenants in compact areas should organize co-operative societies for the purposes of plantation. The zamindars should transfer such lands to these co-operative societies free of rent and the tonants be allowed to plant trees and water them. The plantation will neither be the property of zamindars nor of the tenants, but will be the property of the co-operative society. The society will see that all the cultivators are supplied with fuel according to their needs, and for the service so rendered, the tenants will pay equitably the recurring expenses of the society. It will not be a profiteering concern, but will only be an agency to encourage plantation, to preserve the same and to distribute the fuel.

If such societies are organized and the Forest Department extends its helping hand in the matter of selection of suitable plants etc., there is no reason why the idea may not be taken up earnestly and we may confidently look to the day, when cowdung will not be burned at all, but will be used for fertilising the soil and thus helping the tenants to produce more and the zamindars to realise their dues easily and without causing any hardship.

I have dealt at length on the question of plantation in this article and have also suggested about the active participation of the Government. But it does not mean that if the Government cannot adopt the scheme, the zamindars should sit still and scratch their heads. They ought to come forward at once and try to improve the lot of the tenantry and that of themselves. H. E. Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the United Provinces, while replying to the address presented by the Benares District Zamindars' Association very sagaciously remarked :

"If you hope to hold your own in that field, you have to give practical proof of your value to society. You have to show that the landlord no less than the cultivator is an essential factor in rural life. We are often told that the growing standards of life among cultivators are such that the soil cannot carry both the cultivator and the landlord. That is a somewhat crude statement, which puts only one aspect of the problem; but if it is prosecuted in that crude form, then your most effective answer must be a proof that the landlord, by the aid he gives the cultivator, the relations he maintains with them, and the manner in which he assists him to occupy a fuller place in our social life, is equally with the cultivator a necessary element in our agricultural economy. I am indicating a course which I know is not easy; it may involve an effort which many of you may not have the means, even if they have the inclination, to attempt, but it is the one effective solution of a problem which will in the future present itself with ever increasing force to your class."

The financial world has for long given birth to a formula to enable those who "may not have the means, even if they have the inclination, to attempt," to co-operate and thus by subscribing their individual quota make the co-operation or the society a body of "means", to attempt and bring about the fruition of those schemes, for which they had the inclination. There is no reason why we should not take up the work of reconstruction at the earliest possible moment, for the delay would mean lack of inclination and not of means.

How to Improve Relations between Landlords and Tenants.

SURENDRA NATH BHAYA,
Govt. Pleader, Rajshahi.

AT the present time it has indeed become a serious problem with zeminders and tenants, with zeminders particularly, to find out ways and means to improve relations between the two.

In the old days the relationship between them was very sweet, the tenants used to look upon the zeminders as their *Ma, Bap* and the zeminders also used to look upon the tenants as their children. When a zeminder happened to go to a village the tenants both males and females with their children would rush to the *Katchary* to have a glimpse of their *Ma, Bap*. The zeminders would listen to their wants and necessities and try their level best to remove the one and supply the other. Ramchandra even went to the length of relinquishing his beloved wife Sita for the sake of his tenants. Those were the golden days of such relationship.

Then came the period when the relationship became a purely mercenary one. The zeminders through their Tahsilders tried to squeeze out as much juice as they could from the tenants in the shape of Abwabs and other illegal realisations. The tenants, as they were better off in those days, did not so much mind the *Julum* that were exercised upon them by the zeminders or rather their agencies. At last came the world wide agitation, the days of awakening and Bolshevik spirit and above all, chill penury. Zeminders' men continued their acts of oppression as usual being blind to the change of situation owing to the change of circumstances. The mischief-making agitators, such as *Mollas* and *Moulvies* taking advantage of the times, scattered over the country and made fiery speeches so as to estrange the feelings of the tenants, exhorting them not to pay rent to the zeminders, nor to pay debts to the money-lenders. These exhortations the tenants easily swallowed, for they seemed palatable to them, without thinking about the after-effects of the same. Thus a gulf began to be created between the tenants and zeminders resulting in unlimited troubles and miseries to both and a feeling of reaction began to creep in the minds of both the sections. Then came in the communal tension and the mischief-makers made and are making much use of it to solidify the tension between the Hindu zeminders and money-

lenders and their Mahomedan tenants and debtors. It is high time and has become most imperative to seriously handle the problem and find out practical ways and means to bring about the old happy relationship between the zemindars and tenants and to cement such relationship.

I have spent a good deal of my thought over this problem and the following ways and means have occurred to me to work out a solution of the same :

(a) The zemindars should make it a point to pay frequent visits to their zeminderies and mix with their tenants freely in order to have a heart to heart talk and exchange of feelings with them and try to disabuse the minds of the tenants of the evil effects of the mischief-making agitators.

(b) The zemindars should try to establish schools and open dispensaries either themselves or in co-operation with the District Boards and Local Boards in order to give facilities of education to the children of the tenants and for protection of their health.

(c) The zemindars in co-operation with agricultural farms try to have demonstration areas in their *Elakas* so that the tenants may get training in the production of improved crops with better seeds and in growing varieties of crops and the use of different kinds of manures for their soils and the utility of insecticides.

(d) The zemindars should take steps in co-operation with their tenants for the purpose of better irrigation and waterways in their tracts.

(e) The zemindars in co-operation with the Union Boards should try to improve the roads and paths in the rural areas and should take steps to prevent the tenants from using any adulterated food.

(f) The zemindars should, in co-operation with the tenants, have a common pasture ground in each village and if possible a good breeding bull for a cluster of villages for the improvement of the cattle.

(g) To ensure the co-operation of the tenants he should form a small committee in each village consisting of a few head tenants and his Tahsilder or Naib, and himself taking the leading part, should consult it from time to time and try to give effect to its suggestion.

(h) It is more important to find out how to improve the condition of the tenants i. e., how to improve the resources of their income. To bring this about, I think, the best course would be to form a Zemindars' Association in each Division with branch committees in each district and sub-division, whose aim and object will be mainly to ensure a healthy mind and body to the tenants and to improve their resources. Jute is the main crop in East Bengal and the abnormal fall in its price has been a death knell to the tenants and consequently to the zemindars. It should be a primary thought of the Association how to improve the market of jute. The only industry for Jute in this country is the manufacture of gunny bags for which a limited quantity of jute is necessary and as soon as the mill-owners can secure a stock of the required quantity, they

control the market and the growers are nowhere. To meet this, I believe, either the production of jute should be limited accordingly or some new industries should be opened for the use of raw jute and facilities should be found for the growers for export of jute to foreign countries. This is only possible if the Zeminders' Associations take it up. In North Bengal, the cultivation of sugarcane is gradually looking up; if the tenants of East Bengal can grow sugarcanes in their lands which are considered suitable for the same, then their condition, on account of the fall of price of jute, can be ameliorated. The Zeminders' Associations can also take up the subjects, I have marked out for the zemindars, individually. In the Zemindars' Associations they can take in a few head tenants of sufficient influence and respectability as members to co-operate with them. In such Associations, the big questions of realisation of rents, transfer of tenancies, boundary disputes and such other subjects may be usefully discussed and solved. I beg to suggest another most important matter viz., instead of allowing the tenants to become a prey and victim of the professional money-lenders, if such Associations would start banks at suitable centres to give facilities to the tenants to get loans at a reasonably low rate of interest, it will be taking a real step towards the improvement of the condition of the tenants.

In conclusion, I beg to emphasise that if we can find out means and ways to improve effectively the conditions of both the zemindars and tenants then the improvement in the relationship between landlords and tenants will automatically take place. I do not venture to say that my suggestions are infallible but I place them before the landlords as well as tenants to serve as a nucleus for further discussions and developments.

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Future of the Zamindars

Heavy Odds placed against them.

BY L. N. SARIN, B. A.

ENOUGH has been said and written about the indefinite political future of the Landowning Community. Very frequently have their best friends—*the Pioneer* and *the Landholders' Journal* tried to awaken them through their leaders to the fact that unless the zamindars gird up their loins and prepare themselves for the coming political struggle they should not be surprised if they unconsciously fall into an abyss of political insignificance. And from political insignificance to political extinction is only a single step.

Sir Malcolm Hailey.

In the face of malignant opposition His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey—the champion of the right cause—has more than a dozen times accosted the landlords to organise themselves on a solid and firm basis in order to maintain their own in the new order of things. "Elsewhere a landed aristocracy has had to meet" said His Excellency while addressing the British Indian Association at Lucknow in 1928, "as you will have to meet the impact of popular institutions. It has endeavoured to secure itself and often with success by making an effective entry into the field of politics. It has drilled its sons in public affairs, it has closed its own ranks in order to offer a united front to its opponents; it has seen the advantage of so managing its estates as to secure the political support of the countryside of which by tradition it is the natural leader; it has not spared itself in its efforts to secure its influence in the press. If I suggest to you that the natural line of prudence lies in following the same course then I should not be human if I did not add one word more. In the political world, it is of some importance to choose the right allies."

What they have done.

Have the landlords taken any steps to control their own future and have they realised the gravity of the situation? It would be untrue to say that they have done practically nothing to preserve their order by reorganising themselves on more scientific lines. They cannot rightly be accused of Nero's lethargic indifference to the burning Rome. The persistent counsels of their sincere friends and well-wishers have certainly stirred them up and one reads in the papers every now and then of their activities in the direction. Important meetings are held where sound and sensible resolutions are passed and wise policies discussed. While all who attend them express their determination to fight for their rights and

privileges some of them do in actual practice display the zeal of the crusaders and bring the devotion of the missionaries to their task but mostly their activities are in the nature of "a marriage at the altar and divorce at the Church Door".

Incapable of sustained efforts.

Indian landlords as a rule are incapable of sustained efforts. They lack that persistency of purpose without which a decaying institution like that of theirs is bound to succumb before the rising tide of new ideas in which an army of the parasites—as they would certainly be called, though wrongly enough—shall have no place worthy of the name. The socialists—their arch-enemies—are slowly but surely gathering strength, and might with the passage of time get an upper hand in the deliberations of the Congress. Should this come to a pass and should the socialists succeed in making a grip of the imagination of the masses by their false promises of economic regeneration, the landlordism would, *ipso facto*, cease to exist and the community of the zamindars would be wiped off as a class of exploiters from the Indian Society. Signs are not wanting that things are drifting that way and although the situation is still retrievable the zamindars should know that each tomorrow would mean new strength to their opponents. A systematic propaganda against the propertied classes is afoot and every possible effort is being made both overtly and secretly to overthrow the existing order of things by exciting the masses into a mob rising.

What should the Zamindars do.

The landowning community if it is serious about its future should act and act decisively along the lines suggested by His Excellency Sir William Malcolm Hailey. Their task is certainly very difficult and cannot be accomplished without a certain amount of self-abnegation. A reference to tradition will not do. Nor would artificial props take them very far. The notions of privilege, of superiority claimed for reasons of Blue-Blood were mediaeval conceptions and are now vehemently rejected before the rising wave of Democracy. Each group and class must justify itself as a living force by working for the betterment of the Society. What should then be their future task in order to meet the situation? The point has often been discussed in minute details and need not be dilated upon here. Enough for me to say that they should organise themselves into a solid phalanx of "Progressives", preserve the leadership of the countryside by working for the betterment of the masses, and by ranging themselves on the side of constitutionalism fight all the forces of disruption and lawlessness that from time to time raise their heads in the country. They should play a worthy part in the political life of the country not by subscribing to the views of the law-breakers but by allying themselves with those who believe in the ordered progress of the country. They should know that politics is only an amphitheatre to the dullard, but arms of Titans to the enterprising.

To Make Agriculture Paying

BY NITYANARAYAN BANERJEE, C. C. A. (Devon),
M. R. Ag. S. (Lond.), F. R. H. S. (Lond.)

FOR the extraordinarily low prices of rice, wheat and jute and an economic distress of undue severity, our agriculturists are passing through a critical time and landlords, manufacturers and commercial men, in fact, all who are directly or indirectly connected with the ebb and tide of their prosperity are suffering no less.

Many are bothering their heads over the perplexing question of unemployment, but I think if agricultural products can fetch better

prices, the general trade will automatically improve and thereby accommodate a considerable section of the present-day unemployed. This is no mere guess but a bare truth. Take, for example, the coal industry. When this industry was flourishing how many families had their livelihood solely from it ! But now with a dull market most of the collieries have been forced to close down and even those which are desperately putting up a show of existence by ejecting smoke through the chimnies, have been compelled to carry on the work with the minimum of establishment and other expenses and at the same

time giving lowest possible salary to the employees, just to maintain their own existence. So I think, with the improvement of agricultural market the unemployment market is bound to be dull.

But how is this difficult and perplexing question to be solved ?

We must remember that Bengal or for the matter of that India is not the only province or country to feel the inevitable effects of the low price of agricultural products. After 1880 the whole of Europe was flooded with cheap cereals, produced in the new lands of America and Australia. It was impossible for Europe to compete with the imported wheat. Denmark, and Holland which have practically no other source of wealth to fall back upon, were almost forced to starve for the unexpected low price of their agricultural products. Necessity is the mother of invention and here this proverb proved once more to be true. Denmark and Holland, of whose agricultural success and wonderful co-operation we hear so much today,



Mr. Nityanarayan Banerjee.

laid the foundation-stone of their present day fame in those troublesome years. Being unable to compete with the foreign cereals, these two countries diverted their energy to a particular section of agriculture viz., dairy and poultry farming, which is surely more paying than selling raw products. And it is now India's turn to adopt this wise policy to make agriculture paying.

India is mainly a land of small scale farming, and this system too is gradually being replaced by mechanisation and extensive large scale farming. In foreign countries, a single-man-farm is working with even 30,000 bighas of land with all modern machines, and in India, too, now-a-days educated and wealthy people have directed their attention and energy towards agriculture. It is evident that the poor small holders with their primitive implements and poor knowledge of agriculture, will very soon be ousted by the wealthy educated agriculturists who work with machine and scientific knowledge of agriculture. So to me it seems that for the small holders the only way to live is to turn towards dairy and mixed farming.

Now let me show how dairy can be made more paying than selling raw products e. g. rice, wheat or jute.

In Bengal from one bigha of fairly good paddy land a farmer can have a nett profit of, say, Rs. 10 or Rs. 15 at most, if he works himself. From the same bigha of land, let us see what can be earned by dairying.

Now-a-days Napier grass is much advocated by the Government Agricultural Department as fodder crop and in reality it has proved its worth even in the red soil of Birbhum. According to the experiments done in the Government farm at Dacca, this fodder grass gives an yield of 650 maunds per bigha per annum, and with greater care and due irrigation, even double the quantity. However, taking into account the lethargy of our peasants and their want of proper knowledge about the cultivation of this grass, we may safely take it for granted that 600 maunds of Napier grass can be had per bigha with ordinary care from fairly good land. A full grown big size cow, yielding, say, 5 to 7 seers of milk will consume daily 20 seers of fodder grass, which is a fair quantity for the upkeep of a cow. Thus a cow will consume 180 maunds of grass a year ; so one bigha will maintain 3½ cows for the whole year, which will yield on an average 150 maunds of milk per year, taking an average of 5 seers per day per cow, which is not an absurd quantity and cows for business purpose must have that yield. Of course the dry period of the cows must be taken into consideration, but during that green fodder of 20 seers per day is not necessary for a cow; only the maintenance ration will do as the production ceases. However, to leave a safe margin we may calculate in this way : we take it for granted that the cows give full milk for one year and they all go dry for the next year, although this is far from the fact. So on an yield of 1,200 maunds of Napier (two years' yield) we can safely get 150 maunds of milk or with

600 maunds of grass, 75 maunds of milk, which will easily fetch a value of Rs. 300 (taking four rupees a maund).

Now let us see the expenses. To have the said yield of grass, we have to manure the field according to Government Agricultural Department's advice. The manure, which they recommend, costs about Rs. 6 to 7 per bigha and the rent of the land is, say, Rs. 2 per bigha. So if the farmer works himself, as we have supposed in the case of rice, on the whole he has to spend, say, Rs. 10 per bigha on which he is sure to get Rs. 290 as profit. Of course this amount is not the nett profit, as cows should be given some other foods too, viz., oilcake, *kalai* (peas), *khud* (broken rice) etc., in addition to fodder grass to maintain the heavy yield, but these foods may not be given during the dry period or may be reduced to half the quantity. Two annas per cow per day is a very liberal amount on this account, which comes to about Rs. 140 per year for the said cows to be maintained per bigha. This amount we are not dividing half and half as we have done in case of yield of milk. So a farmer can have a safe nett income of Rs. 150 per bigha in dairying and that even by selling raw milk and without converting it to curd, cheese or butter, which undoubtedly will fetch greater profit.

Now arises the question of capital to buy the livestock. Our average small-holding of 15 bighas (?) even in this dull market can be valued at Rs. 750 and a cow yielding 5 to 7 seers of milk will cost at the most Rs. 70 to 80. So with 14 bighas of land 10 good cows can be bought to give a nett profit of Rs. 450 per annum, whereas the said 15 bighas will yield about Rs. 150 per annum if they are used in raising cereals or other agricultural crops.

I have taken into account only one fodder crop, but there are others too viz., maize, juar etc., which are still heavier yielders than even Napier, Sudan, spear or any other grass. These are not perennial but can be siloed and used throughout the year. The details of silo or cultivation of these crops are not within the scope of this article, as this is only to show what system of farming can make our agriculture paying.

In the above calculations I have made liberal allowances to efface all shadows of doubt about the profit and I hope the actual income will be much greater than shown here.

This is not an utopia, not any idle imagination or unpracticable theory ; this is a fact, a bare fact proved to be true by Denmark and Holland. Only by their dairy and bacon industries these two small countries of Europe have weathered all financial storms of the past and present. In these years of industrialisation, these two lands, without any mineral resources, are still standing strong and financially much stronger than many of the countries of the world and this is only possible for their falling upon dairying and bacon and poultry farming, some of the industrialised forms of agriculture. So we are not going to run after any mad utopia. We have models before us. When two countries have gained, we may have nothing to lose.

Hyderabad under the present Nizam

Rt. Hon. Sir Sapru's tribute to the ruler

BY MRS. V. BALASUBRAMANYAM.

IN the course of a remarkable address at Mr. Mahboob Ali's Experimental Broadcasting Station the Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who was in Hyderabad on some professional business, paid a glowing tribute to the ruler and said: "I am very pleased to note that the State of Hyderabad has tremendously improved with remarkable rapidity within 25 or 30 years and no other country has made so much progress as you have done. I am sure that the whole of India will copy your example". The past twenty-three years of his administration have been indeed a period of unceasing activity, reform and progress in all directions. There is no department of administration which has not shared his quickening impulse whether it concerns the economic development of the state, education, co-operation or industry or the growth of local self-government. The record of progress in educational, social, economic and other spheres is such that His Exalted Highness may legitimately feel proud of it and one may unhesitatingly assert that the Hyderabad State is destined to make further remarkable progress under his rule. Well equipped with a liberal education and possessing an unbending sense of duty, His Exalted Highness has proved himself an ideal ruler—justice-loving, conscientious and sympathetic. He takes a very warm interest in the welfare of his subjects which has become an article of faith with him and this no doubt accounts for the great love and high esteem in which he is held by all of his subjects. It is a fact well known to all that many of the Indian Princes spend their time in foreign countries, indulging in frivolous amusements and squandering millions of the state money just to satisfy their whims and caprices. But the Nizam is guilty of no such vice. Except on very rare occasions, he never leaves the state. He lives among his subjects, enquires into their wants and studies his best to ensure their happiness and progress.

Communal concord

Another prominent factor worth mentioning about Hyderabad is that there is no communal discord, all the communities living in terms of perfect friendship and amity and under his rule the state has been pursuing a career of uninterrupted development and progress. While a feeling of rivalry and jealousy exists between the various communities elsewhere, why is that communal bitterness absent in the Hyderabad state ? The

reason is not far to seek. His Exalted Highness rules impartially ; he holds the scales of justice even and does not make fish of one and flesh of another. He has endeared himself to his subjects by his passionate love and desire to promote their welfare irrespective of caste or creed and under his benevolent administration the people are very happy and contented. The Hindu-Muslim problem does not exist for the simple reason that the state does not recognise the differences of religion or creed in making appointments to responsible posts. Every career is open to talents and there are no iron gates of forbidding dimensions. His Exalted Highness has consistently aimed at the absolute impartiality between the various communities and his government has exemplified his policy by acting in a manner, which has won the encomiums of the most prejudiced as well as the most fanatical.

Finances

At the present moment when all the nations of the world are seriously suffering from economic depression it is Hyderabad and Hyderabad alone which is in a happy position to face the present economic depression without anxiety. It is particularly due to the financial policy of the state which is widely known as the departmentalisation of the finance. Sir Akbar Hydari's management of the purse has bestowed prosperity on the people. The financial stability of the Hyderabad state is the envy of the world and in Sir Akbar's own words we quote the policy pursued by the state : "The new policy has, however, been justified by the experience of the last nine years. The Finance Department by the system of triennial contracts with spending departments has been enabled to take long views in the matter of state expenditure. On the basis of past experience the Finance Department has, at the beginning of each triennial period, been enabled to make a forecast of revenues normally likely to accrue during the forthcoming triennium. With this as a guide and in consultation with the other departments it has fixed the normal budget for departments for each year of the triennial period. Under the system of departmentalisation in force the various departments of Government have no reason to rush through expenditure before the close of the year to prevent a grant lapsing. They are assured that whatever is not spent will be carried for next year of the contractual period. This makes for a well-thought-out programme of care and economy in the expenditure of the spending departments : it prevents that rush of expenditure often hurried and ill-considered at the end of the financial year which is a not infrequent occurrence in places where the system of grants lapsing at the close of the budgetary year obtains. This is in brief the system which Sir Akbar boldly introduced and has with the experience of ten years demonstrated to be remarkably successful. At a time when financial cataclysm has overtaken all nations of the world, it is no small credit to Hyderabad that, almost alone of the countries of the world, it can present a prosperity budget that must surely be the admiration of the world. When ruthless

retrenchment is the order of the day everywhere, Hyderabad is happily in a position to make provision for the gradual expansion of every scheme already in hand calculated to promote the material prosperity of its subjects without imposing additional taxation. Had it not been for the financial stability which Sir Akbar has so laboriously built up, the various nation-building departments could not have made a fraction of the progress which they have made and it was really a glorious tribute which His Exalted Highness the Nizam paid to Sir Akbar in issuing a special firman expressing his sincere opinion that Sir Akbar's foresight and sagacity are valuable assets in the world of finance, but it is no more than a fitting compliment to one who is in reality the maker of Hyderabad and the pillar of its administration.

Educational progress

Hyderabad has maintained its remarkable lead in educational progress. The Osmania University was inaugurated nearly 16 years ago and eminent gentlemen like Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and others who have had opportunities to acquaint themselves at first hand with its ideals and achievements have paid unstinted admiration to this university. The imparting of education through the medium of an Indian vernacular rather than through a time-honoured foreign language makes the Osmania University unique among sister-universities in India. The monumental achievements of the Osmania University owes its origin to Sir Akbar's statesmanship and constructive genius and by founding it he has really laid the foundations of nationalism in India. The State may well congratulate itself on maintaining the only institution in India with a vernacular as its medium of instruction. The department of education is under the able and efficient control of Mr. Khan Fazl Mahomed Khan, Director of Public Instruction, who is principally responsible for the present educational progress of the state. It is highly gratifying to note that under his kind care the department shows a record of rapid progress in all directions. It is also noteworthy to observe that the energetic Director of education is taking strenuous steps to formulate definite proposals for the improvement of school curriculum with a view to adopt modern ideas and meet the present-day educational needs of the Hyderabad State.

Industries

The industries in the Hyderabad State are forging ahead. The State possesses many natural facilities which are being brought under successful exploitation by numerous schemes of industrial expansion. It is highly gratifying to note that the Government are pursuing a policy of liberally encouraging indigenous industries. The numerous openings which exist for the development of local industries have been apparent to Government and numerous steps are being taken by them to encourage the establishment of factories and the development of cottage industries wherever

opportunities exist. As a striking proof of the interest evinced by the state in the promotion of cottage industries, the state sometime ago organised the Cottage Industries Institute, the opening ceremony of which was performed by His Exalted Highness the Nizam. This institution is designed to improve the cottage industries of the state, the most important of which are handloom weaving, dyeing and printing. The main object of the Institute is to teach the weavers improved methods and new designs so as to enable them to hold their own against increasing competition, both inside and outside the state. The state is also very often organising agricultural and industrial demonstrations in the villages just to educate them in the manufacture of articles by means of new and improved appliances. The state is vitally interested in giving training to our young men in factories and institutes in India and it is noteworthy to observe that the industrial trust fund has already set apart a decent sum for this laudable object. The Government also propose to devote particular attention to the development of fruit culture, vegetable growing, dairying, cattle breeding and has in mind the establishment of an institute of Agricultural Industries which should specially study and develop these industries and others such as agriculture, jam and pickle-making.

Health and sanitation

Considerable attention is being taken by the Hyderabad state to promote the health and sanitation of the public and the numerous steps taken by the state in this direction form a bright chapter of the record of numerous progressive measures adopted in recent years for the betterment of the Hyderabad public. It is no exaggeration when I say that nowhere in India can be found better organisations for the prevention of malaria and plague than in our state or more care and expenditure devoted to water-supply, drainage and conservancy. Specially on account of the precautions taken by the Government the death-rate has appreciably gone down in recent years. It is really the boast of the state that it is provided with one of the best hospitals in India equipped with well-developed maternity section and special departments for eye, nose, ear throat and venereal diseases. The hospital is happily in a position to accommodate 400 in-patients. There is a large purdah hospital for women with nearly 120 beds and besides these there are 10 dispensaries in the city which are fully supplied with medicine and drugs. There is also a leper clinic for the use of purdah women as well as a well-organised Isolation hospital. Maternity homes are provided both in the Victoria Zenana Hospital for the purdah ladies and the Osmania Hospital for others. At the Osmania Hospital there is generally a large attendance of women at the anti-natal clinic where wholesome advice is given and at the former there are classes for *dais* who are imparted regular and special instructions. Hyderabad is taking long strides in the promotion

of its health and sanitation. It is in no way behind other advanced cities of India in this respect.

Conclusion

His Exalted Highness's rule abounds with reforms too numerous to be chronicled in a short article. His originality of ideas and power of initiative are mainly responsible for many a new project of the most progressive nature. The huge irrigation works are a standing testimony to the ruler's desire for the agricultural progress of the state and the betterment of the lot of the agriculturists. Thanks to the keen interest evinced by His Exalted Highness, Hyderabad has come to be rightly regarded as the model state in India and the various improvements effected by the ruler in all the departments amply illustrate the statesmanship and the breadth of vision of the ruler.



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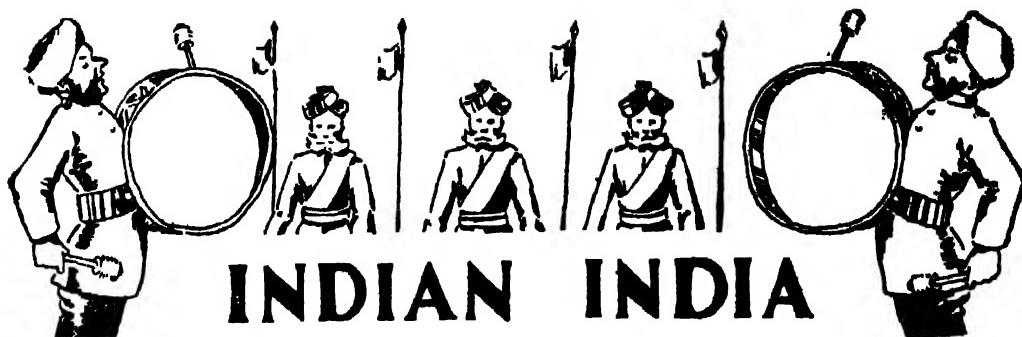
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BARODA

Elaborate preparations are afoot in all parts of the State for the Diamond Jubilee of the rule of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar which will be celebrated next year.

The United Press understands that funds collected for the purpose will only be utilised on works of public utility, because of His Highness's particular aversion to useless and ostentatious display of luxury. Some suggest the formation of a Baroda University as a fitting memory of a ruler whose contribution to education, art, culture and oriental literature is well-known.

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The Government of His Highness the Gaekwar have decided to carry out some amendments in the Vernacular Educational Code. The amendments relate to the management of the fund established by His Highness to further the intellectual advancement of the people, to enable the present and the future generations to procure the best books for reading, and also to encourage authors and publishers to publish useful books of knowledge through the vernaculars.

They provide, among others, that the Translation Branch (which was organised about two decades ago as a special department in the state for rendering the best literature of the world into Gujarati and other vernaculars with a donation of Rs. 2 lakhs from His Highness' privy purse) will be placed in charge of the Director of the Oriental Institute, working under the supervision of the Commissioner of Education, as the head of the department and the work carried on by a managing committee, presided over by the Commissioner of Education under the guidance of the General Translation Committee appointed by the Government from time to time. Special provision has been made for encouragement of the authors and publishers of the books under the series, who have also been authorised to print all subsequent editions without the necessity of obtaining the permission of the Government for the purpose.

Sir V. T. Krishnamachari has been granted three years' extension of his term as Dewan of Baroda.

HYDERABAD

Alluding to the recent appointment of the scions of certain nobles as staff officers, honorary A. D. C's to Princes Azam Jah Bahadur and Moazzam Jah Bahadur, H. E. H. the Nizam observed in the course of a dinner speech during his last birthday celebration, that in making these appointments he was prompted by what he considered his duty to give his attention to their future welfare and advancement and thus reward loyalty of their elders in the past to the State and its rulers in their time. He also wished thereby that

"the promising youths may become acquainted with the customs, usages of the court and palace, also with the etiquette observed in best society and that they should realise the important responsibilities that will be laid on their shoulders either now or in future, for the discharge whereof they must train their character now; so that by proving their fitness, they may show that the expectations formed by their master in honouring them this way were not without justification."

The Nizam advised them that the highest qualities of man were gentility, nobility, consideration for others, love, self-respect, while loyalty to the State and their ruler was an indispensable trait. He cautioned them against not moving with the times which, he added, were changing rapidly.

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His Exalted Highness the Nizam has issued a firman through a Gazette Extraordinary containing assurances to his Hindu, Parsi, and Sikh subjects, who had presented addresses to wish him long life on the occasion of his birthday and to express their gratitude for the sympathy, toleration and security enjoyed by them in the free exercise of their religious duties.

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In view of the famine conditions which prevail in several districts of the Dominion as a result of the failure of the monsoon, H. E. H. the Nizam's Government have ordered the distribution of Rs. 1,50,000 as *takavi* loans among cultivators of the affected areas. It is reported that conditions are at their worst in Raichur. The Government intend starting relief work in the stricken districts.

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The Nizam's Government note with satisfaction that the benefits of the Agricultural Markets Act, which they introduced three years ago, are being widely appreciated by buyers and sellers in the State. The success of the measure may be largely traced to the fact that the Hyderabad Act, unlike similar Acts in British India, is applicable to agricultural produce other than cotton.

Various difficulties were at first encountered in the application of the Act to grains, but these difficulties have been mainly overcome. The Act has now been extended to four other places—Warrangal, Hingoli,

Aurangabad and Raichur. Marketing charges have been further reduced at Nander, Umri and Latur and the *halki sicca* currency is making rapid progress in the area under the influence of the Sailu and the Jalna markets.

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A demonstration was given on the 26th October last at the Himayat-sagar Experimental Farm, at which the agricultural, horticultural poultry, livestock and dairy sections were well-represented. The visitors who included a large number of cultivators and students showed great interest in the demonstration.

The agricultural section demonstrated the modern farm implements, water-lifting devices, fodder-cutters and other useful machinery as well as their efficacy and use. The method of manufacturing compost by utilizing all kinds of farm waste such as weeds, sweepings, etc., was demonstrated in the manure court where fertilizers which are in general demand, were also exhibited. Improved strains of paddy, wheat and castor and the method of developing such strains by means of charts and diagrams were also shown. Specimens of common insect pests were exhibited as also the methods and appliances used for combating them. Horticultural tools were displayed and could be had on purchase while methods of grafting, budding, layering and pruning as well as of laying out gardens and planting fruit trees were demonstrated. Different breeds of poultry were shown as well as their housing and feeding, the use of incubators, and methods of rearing chickens and preserving eggs.

The cattle were kept for exhibition in clean sheds and methods employed to get clean and wholesome milk were demonstrated. The usefulness of keeping milk records was also explained while, in the main dairy building, the pasteurizer, the cooler, the cream-separators, churns and the process of bottling, capping and ringing to ensure delivery of good quality milk, were also shown.

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In a recent session of the Hyderabad Legislative Council, Pandit Keshavrao's Bill for the validation of remarriage of Hindu widows was passed by 9 votes to 7.

At a public meeting recently held at Bombay under the auspices of the Hyderabad State People's Conference a resolution was passed asking the Hyderabad State to allow public meetings within its limits and establish a legislative assembly on the Kashmir model.

mysore

The Mysore Government have accorded sanction to the National Council of Y. M. C. A. in India to open a Rural Reconstruction Centre at Dodballapur in the buildings which the Government recently purchased from the "Heart of Indian Mission". They have directed that the buildings and lands at Dodballapur be allowed to be used by the Y. M. C. A. for the purpose for a period of 10 years and have sanctioned a recurring maintenance grant of Rs. 4,000 per annum for a period of 5 years with effect from the current year 1934-35, subject to an equal amount being

paid by the Y. M. C. A. They have also sanctioned a grant to meet the whole of the initial expenditure of Rs. 10,425. The Government will pay the grant quarterly in advance.

The Government have granted a sum of Rs. 75,000 for sinking wells in several districts in their budget for the year 1934-35. Under their scheme of allotment Bangalore gets Rs. 9,000 Kolar and Tumkur each Rs. 8,000, Shimoga Rs. 7,000, Chitaldroog districts Rs. 16,000, Hassan Rs. 6,000 for new construction and Rs. 6,000 for completion of the unfinished wells in the district.

A joint memorandum has been sent up to the Government of India by the domiciled European Association, Trades Union and others, which protests vehemently against the retrocession of the Civil and Military station, Bangalore, to the State. It states that the tract having once been assigned for military purposes, a large civil population has grown with guarantees from the British Government and that the Mysore Government is not in its rights to claim the area for inclusion in the State. It states with no uncertain voice that Mysore, which was not enthusiastic about entering the Federation, acquiesced later on reconsideration of the advantages she might gain by way of retrocession and cancellation of the annual subsidy. With regard to the subsidy the memorandum entirely endorses the demand of the Durbar.

The memorialists do not appear to have done justice to the local Government. They can, as it has been urged, hardly claim that they have just grievances for the transfer of jurisdiction. The tract was not permanently alienated or leased out like the Berars but was assigned for particular purposes and under special circumstances which are no longer existent. It may also be recalled that only some time ago the Government assured the population of the station that the privileges and rights which they enjoy under the British administration would be continued in addition to their having a representation on the Assembly and the Legislative Council.

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research have sanctioned a sum of Rs. 4 lakhs towards capital expenditure and another sum of Rs. 50,000 for annual recurring expenditure for the improvement of the Indian dairy industry and animal husbandry.

The grant will be utilised for the experimental creamery at Anand and for improving and expanding the Dairy Institute at Bangalore. Provision of better laboratories and research facilities at the Bangalore Institute will form part of the new scheme.

A Bill to amend the Mysore Co-operative Societies Regulation has been introduced in the Dusserah session of the Representative Assembly

with the object of improving the working of land mortgage banks in the State.

At present loans issued from a land mortgage bank are recovered in monthly instalments, extending over a period of 25 years. In the case of defaulters, loans are recovered by attaching their properties and bringing them to sale. The Government now seek to amend the regulations in such a way as to enable them to attach the standing crops of defaulting debtors and bring them to sale without the intervention of courts. The mortgage deed would contain a clause empowering the bank to bring to sale the property of defaulters on its own authority.

Another amendment aims at forcing a prior creditor to accept repayment of a loan in monthly instalments. The Bill will also contain a clause, stating that no interest will be paid on principal advanced by prior creditors from the date on which a land mortgage bank issues a notice to prior creditors to present themselves at the bank.

The Mysore Government have started preliminary operations in connection with their long contemplated irrigation scheme in the Kakanhalli Taluk, one of the driest areas in the State. The project is known as the Maralwadi scheme and intended to bring a few thousands of acres under fruit cultivation. It will, when completed, cost about Rs. 5 lakhs. Arrangements are being made to make the irrigated area a beauty spot in the State.

With a view to providing relief to the ryots in regard to the serious shortage of fodder consequent on the failure of the south west monsoon, the Mysore Agricultural Department recommended to the ryots to start cultivation of Beli Jhoa (white cholum) on dry, wet and garden lands, the idea being that this being the season favourable for the sowing of this particular jhola, in the event of there being good north-east rains, the crop will yield both heavy tonnage of fodder and considerable grain. Seeds have been distributed all over the affected districts of Tumkur, Kolar, Bangalore and Mysore. It is gratifying to note that the ryots have enthusiastically adopted the idea of the Department and the response has been quite up to the expectations.

TRAVANCORE

The Travancore Retrenchment Committee which was appointed at the instance of the two State legislatures after the last budget session, has found that the cost of Government establishment has risen during the past 12 years from Rs. 62.46 lakhs to Rs. 91.06 lakhs and that "the proportion of the expenditure on establishment to the aggregate revenues and the total expenditure of the State stands at an unduly high figure and calls for reduction." The Committee, therefore, recommends a reduction varying from 5 per cent to 10 per cent. The saving estimated is Rs. 2,700,00.

The Government have had under their consideration the report of the Public Service Recruitment Committee which had for its object the organization of the Services of the State with due regard to efficiency and equality of opportunities to all classes of His Highness's subjects to serve their country. This report was discussed by both Houses of Legislature, and heads of departments and offices have submitted, as directed, returns of men and women employed, both permanent and temporary, according to the communities to which they belonged. The Government now propose to appoint a special officer to conduct further investigation into the basis of communal proportions with a strict eye on the need of efficiency and furnish the Government with a detailed plan for the constitution of a Public Service Commission together with draft rules defining their duties and powers.

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Mr. S. Dogar Singh, F. C. S., Head of the Ceramics Department, Benares Hindu University, who had been invited by the Travancore Government to submit a detailed scheme for developing washing China clay and porcelain industry in the State, has arrived at Trivandrum.

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Mr. K. K. Pillai B. A., B. L., Member, Sri Mulam Assembly, proposes to introduce in the Assembly a Bill providing for special marriage and succession on the lines of the Indian Special Marriage Act and a similar legislation in Cochin. The bill would validate marriages between persons who belong to different communities or castes and are bound by different rules of inheritance. It prescribes 25 and 18 as the ages of the bridegroom and the bride, respectively, for valid marriages, sets aside all rules of consanguinity as unnecessary and adopts a simple and convenient procedure for divorce.

When a marriage is intended to be solemnized under this Regulation, one of the parties must give notice in writing to the Registrar before whom it is to be solemnized. The Registrar to whom such notice is given must be the Registrar of a district or taluk within which one at least of the parties to the marriage has resided for a month before such notice is given.

The marriage will be solemnized not earlier than a month after the notice and not before disposal by the Registrar of specific objections which may be raised to the marriage in the interim period.

COCHIN

Considerable increase in both export and import trade of the Cochin Port was revealed in its annual report for the year ending June 1934. Imports rose from 480,585 tons to 609,004 tons and exports from 99,876 tons to 1,149,890 tons during the year. The notable increases in imports were under rice and cement, and those in exports were under rubber, coir yarn products, cocoanut oil, pepper, cashewnut and other hill products.

PATIALA

Speaking at the farewell banquet held in honour of Sir James Fitzpatrick, A. G. G., Punjab States, and Lady Fitzpatrick, H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala said :

"It has never been my intention and I can say with some confidence it has not been the intention of the great majority of Princes to withdraw from or modify the position they have adopted all along on the question of Federation."

Continuing the Maharaja said :

'The position has been that they are prepared to enter Federal constitution if guarantees for their internal sovereignty which they consider essential for safeguarding their future are provided and if in the Government of the Federation they are given authority and influence proportionate to their political and historical importance. Whether the proposal as they finally emerge from Joint Parliamentary Committee will satisfy these conditions is a matter on which it is not possible to prophesy.

"For myself, I assure you, I shall keep an open and sympathetic mind and study with care the proposals when they are officially placed before me for my consideration"

Sir James Fitzpatrick said in the course of his reply to the toast :

"The Indian States are justified in my opinion in requiring reasonable safeguards and Government would be the last to desire to see an order which has always been loyal and devoted to the Crown weakened or imperilled. If only the Princes can sink their differences and jealousies and work in whole-hearted co-operation for the good of their order and subjects and of British India, Federation need have no terrors, and I welcome the good example set by this agency in forming under the presidency of Your Highness a regional group conference to discuss matters of common concern and formulate a common policy."

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The Dusserah and the birthday of His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala happening to coincide with the completion of twenty-five years of active administration of his State, the annual Durbar this year was invested with unusual importance. His Highness issued a proclamation in which were recalled the cordial relations that always subsisted between his house and the subjects, their loyalty to his throne and his own exertions for their welfare irrespective of caste, colour or creed. Titles and distinctions were conferred on a number of distinguished persons.

MEWAR

Mr. H. P. Bhatnagar of Shahdra, Delhi, Colonisation Agent to His Highness's Government, Mewar State, has issued a note inviting persons from abroad to settle on the State on terms which appear to be very attractive and reasonable. Mewar enjoys a fairly regular rainfall and its climate is good and healthy. Its capital Udaipur is a very famous historical place having picturesque scenery and magnificent buildings. It has the benefit of one Intermediate College, three high schools and one girls' school where free education is imparted. Intending settlers are informed that no crop can be grown as a paying proposition unless it is irrigated from a well or tank. As there is no ready-made irrigated land available, the well or tanks must be made at the settler's expense. Water for wells is usually found within a depth of from 15 to 80 feet, and blasting of rock is

generally necessary. In well-irrigated areas, provided sufficient manure is used, the produce may run up to 15 maunds (Imperial) of cotton per acre and 20 maunds of wheat or maize, or in favoured localities even more. Labour is very cheap and livestock can be purchased at moderate prices.

The lands will be distributed by Mr. Bhatnagar on the following among other conditions :

1. The lands are available to all Indians without price but no settler will be given more land than he and his family members can cultivate by their personal labour.

2. The settler is given full perpetual proprietary rights to sell, to mortgage and to dispose of his holding as he desired. The settler is also at liberty to lease out the land to local or outside men. No sale of land will be permitted until the settler has paid at least one year's land revenue of it to the State, and has been in possession for at least one year.

3. The terms of revenue payment are as follows :—

(a) No revenue will be charged for the first five years.

(b) Half rates will be charged for further five years after the free period.

4. The rate of revenue is from annas two to annas eight Chittori per bigha according to the soil and its productivity.

5. The revenue is chargeable on the entire land, whether it is kept fallow or cultivated.

6. Land for grazing cattle is available to meet requirements.

7. The settler is at liberty to surrender any single field-number or his entire holding after paying up all the State dues.

8. The settler or his agent will be bound to take up residence in his holding within six months from the date of allotment.

9. The settler is at liberty to cut trees from his land to clear it for cultivation. He can keep the wood for agricultural or domestic requirements and any surplus wood will be removed by the State, or if desired sold to the settler. Trees planted by settlers will be their own property.

10. The settler is at liberty to shoot wild animals within the limits of his field.

11. Settlers will be subjects of the Udaipur (Mewar) State and governed by the State laws and regulations which are now in force or may be enacted in the future.

12. If the new settlers require any special police protection for their lives and property, the State will make the necessary arrangements.

13. If the rent or any part of the rent of a holding or a substantial portion of it is utilized solely for the production of grass for sale, the State reserves the right, if all other efforts to recover the arrears fail, to eject the occupier and resume possession of the holding.

14. Those who visit the State with the object of securing land should bring proper permits with them from the agent. Facilities for conveyance on payment for the inspection of land, will be given by the State.

BENARES

Speaking at the banquet which was held in his honour by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares, His Excellency Sir Malcolm Hailey, Governor of the United Provinces, offered felicitations to His Highness for his important decision to make an adoption and the success of the

measures he had adopted to restore order to the finances of his State. His Excellency also dwelt on the future of the Indian States, throwing out at the same time some valuable hints to the Rulers :

"There is much that well may baffle us when we attempt to envisage the future of India and not the least difficult future in that picture is the future of Indian States. Federation may give them their due shares in the responsibility for the general management of India but there still remains the problem of their own internal evolution. It is common to expect that this will follow the direction of vesting increasing responsibility in representative institutions. I have never been convinced in my own mind that this is the only or inevitable course of development. It has, of course, on its side all the momentum which it must derive from the grant of authority to popular institutions in British India.

"But autocracy is a principle which is firmly seated in Indian States. Round it burn sacred fires of age-long tradition. Let me at least say this. If I might venture to advise my friends among Indian Rulers, the sum of my advice to them would be to give autocracy its full chance first. If we are to have rivalry between forms of constitutional development, let it enter the race at its best. It has not a fair chance if the strong light which is bound to beat on the Ruler himself brings him into criticism which would not be directed against those who are charged with the administration of the neighbouring province : it has not a fair chance if his subjects can feel that in any respect their interests obtain less consideration than they would have across the border.

"Autocracy informed by wisdom, exercised in moderation and vitalized by the spirit of service to the interests of the subject may well prove that it can make an appeal in India as strong as that of representative and responsible institutions."

NAWANAGAR

Experiments that were undertaken by the State Department of Agriculture for the past four years in a new (African) variety of Bajra have yielded exceptionally good results. The average size of the ear-heads of the new crop grown this year at the experimental farm was 36 inches, the longest being 74 inches. The yield was also very heavy on the 200 bighas of land that have been devoted under this variety. Attempts were made to multiply the seed quantity for adequate distribution among the cultivators of the State.

About one-third of the cultivated area (roughly 900,000 acres) in Nawanagar is under Bajra. A large supply of the seed of the new variety is now available—free of charges under orders of His Highness the Jamsaheb. It is expected that the new variety will be grown next year in about 80,000 bighas, yielding a bumper crop. The aim of the Department is to introduce this variety all over Kathiawar and Gujarat.

REWA

The newly constituted State Council signalled its first session by unanimously passing a resolution recommending the establishment of a technical college in Rewa and by sanctioning an annual grant of Rs. 3,000 for repairs to the Saraswati Sadan Library.

Among the bills that were discussed by it before adjourning *sine die* were those for the restriction of marriage dowries, regulation of labour, amendments to the Gambling Act and prohibition of the slaughter of milch animals.

JHABUA

His Highness Raja Udai Singh having agreed to divest himself of the responsibility for administering the Jhabua State and not to enter it in future, the Government have accepted his suggestion that the administration should, under the guidance of the political authorities, be entrusted to a council of which Maharaj Dalip Singhji of Khawasa should be president and Rai Sahib Ram Narain Mulla, vice-president, who will be in charge of some of the most important departments of the State. There will also be a judicial member of the council.

The above arrangements were formally announced by Mr. K. S. Fitz, Political Agent, Malwa, at a Durbar held at Jhabua, and attended by all the *Umraos* and prominent subjects.

MANDI

Speaking at the State banquet held recently at Mandi, His Excellency the Viceroy congratulated the Raja of Mandi on the successful results of the educational, medical, social and municipal reforms inaugurated by him among a primitive and hilly population "still largely outside the march of time." He extolled the part played by the Mandi Durbar in the inception and successful completion of the Hydro-electric scheme whereby the waters of the Uhl river have been harnessed to supply power and light to Mandi and the Punjab. On the question of Federation His Excellency observed :

"In the Federal plan.....the ideal solution has been found for meeting the needs and aspirations of a united India, British and Indian, in which the Indian States must have an important part to play, a weighty contribution to make."

THE VICEROY'S STATUE

The leading Princes of India have decided to erect a statue of His Excellency Lord Willingdon in New Delhi, "as a token of their tribute to his personal friendship" with them and to perpetuate the memory of his long and distinguished connection with India and Indian States. The list of donations stands as follows : Rs. 5,000 each from the Nawabs of Bhawalpur, Bhopal, Rampur, Jaora, and Junagadh, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Maharajas of Baroda, Kashmir, Jodhpur, Kolhapur, Mysore, Nawanagar, Patiala, Travancore, Udaipur, Benares, Bikaner, Cochin, Gwalior, Indore and Jaipur : Rs. 2,000 from the Maharaja of Kotah.

Zamindars : Their Present Position

(Continued from June issue)

By KRISHNA KISHORE DAS, B. A.

THE first thing to be done is to create a really live institution through which the zamindars of Bengal can express their opinions. To do so it will be necessary for them in the first instance to sink all their differences and to select one of their number to be their actual working head. In founding organisations, of course, it is necessary that in their beginnings there should be some amount, if not a good amount, of autocracy. To compare very little with very great things, the nations of Europe that are changing their constitutions have all been obliged to submit to the orders of a Dictator. Spain, Germany, Italy, Austria, Prussia and Turkey, to mention only the most prominent, are examples of this. The 'Dictator' zamindar will have to combine with his autocratic attitude towards his fellow zamindars a democratic attitude towards the other classes, with whom he is brought into contact. That is to say, he must be prepared to learn from them the arts of attracting attention and employ them to the fullest advantage. He should put aside the natural and inherited dislike of advertisement. He must remember that "Sweet are the uses of Advertisement" and be prepared to put himself side by side with politicians who profit by these methods. That is the practical side of propaganda and propaganda there must be.

The next question that arises is propaganda of what. The zamindar must show that he is just as much, if not more, a representative of (to use the phrase that is rarely absent from any political document) the Dumb Millions. He must show that it is to his interest that they being his tenants and thereby naturally looking to him for protection should be protected and benefited by any change of constitution. He should further show that he is the best judge of their needs and desires and that he is far apart from city-bred politicians whose ideal, for whether it be good or otherwise, is to get power into their hands to control the destinies of the country. People are apt to attach too little importance to the difference between Government and administration. What, after all, is the use of Self-Government if it connotes faulty and disastrous administration? This neither the Swarajists nor the Terrorists, I am afraid, can comprehend. Plans for constitution and fiery discussions are all very well. But to take over the Government from a foreign power into one's own hands is a consummation devoutly to be wished. But before such

power is taken over it is necessary to know how to wield it. This is where the zamindars have their opportunity. By careful administration of their estates they can show that there are Indians who are capable of administering things greater than their estates, viz ; their province or country. In stead of quarrelling amongst themselves for mere trifles they should drown their differences and try to be social, *humane* beings. They should remember that they are scoffed at by other nations for their inhuman luxuries and try their utmost to remove from their brow that stigma—that like Cain's mark is goading them on to destruction.

Every nation that has been changing its constitution has been seeking to convert privately owned possessions into public property that is to say to nationalize the land, industries and everything else. Should such a scheme ever be possible (which, I hope, will never be) zamindars will, of course, have to bow to the inevitable and then the question of the position of zamindars will be merely academic. Wordsworth in some of his least poetical but perhaps most inspired lines writes as follows :

"The good old rule, the simple plan,
That he should take who has the power
And he should who can."

which sums up perhaps the whole principle of international and domestic politics. Indeed, if it comes to this that zamindars see that it is for the benefit of their country that their lands should be taken from them and converted into public property—as is usually the case in England owing to the heavy death duties, who will deny that as patriotic citizens they will but acquiesce in such a state of affairs. But is it going to be for the good of India that such a policy should be adopted ? At present without any shade of doubt the zamindars must vehemently answer—No. A system that has prevailed in India through all these years is not to be lightly set aside, by theories not yet proved to be correct, by practice or by politicians who, steeped in the literature of Communism, have not the faintest idea how to solve the Communal problem.

But adieu to this unpleasant topic ! Now to come back to our original theme, viz. what should the zamindars do at this present juncture. The answer seems to be fairly simple. First, they should prove by the way their estates are administered that they are the real guardians and representatives of a vast number of people whom politicians are not in touch with and of whose hopes and fears politicians are deplorably ignorant. Secondly, they should show that they are interested also in the political development of their country and are as eager as any one else for Indianization of the administration of the land of their forefathers ; and lastly, that they are foremost in looking to a future for India that shall provide for it a life on what is called the most modern lines without a too rude breaking away from the traditions of the past.



My Annual Tiger-shooting Excursion,

February, 1927.

BY RAJA KIRTYANAND SINHA BAHADUR OF BANAILI.

WHEN a young shikari goes out to shoot in a dense *kathal* jungle in Nopal, he sometimes finds himself terribly perplexed. For the dense and high-towering woods with fanciful garlands of strange and strong creepers swinging down from their tops to the dangerous bushy undergrowths below, the favourite resorts of tigers and leopards, make it extremely perilous to shoot even from over the backs of trained elephants. It is not uncommon in such places for the untrained elephants to get suddenly frightened at the sight some wild animal concealed beneath some undergrowth, and, in their mad stampede for safety, endanger the lives of the shikaris on them. A shikari who has to shoot in such a place has to be very cautious, otherwise he and his men may have to dangle from branches of trees or swing about in the air caught in the strong arms of forest creepers. My men had an experience like this in the February of 1927, while I was shooting in a jungle of Nepal near Baba Bunkhandi Nath's Dhuni, with the kind permission of H. H. the late Maharaja Sir Chandra Shamser Jung Bahadur Rana, the Prime Minister of Nepal.

The facts are as follows. I was one day beating the Dhuni Nullah in the company of my shikaris in search of a tiger. The Nullah runs from north to south in the midst of a dense *kathal* wood, and at one point sharply separates into two channels leaving a green islet in the middle, and thence after a course of 100 yards to the south, the separated channels meet again in a single Nullah, which, as it traces its course down and down, is finally lost in the dense jungles.

It was while we were beating the Nullah that we suddenly came across the pug-marks of a fairly big tiger on the west bank of the Nullah just where its two branches separate. It immediately struck me that the tiger must be somewhere near, perhaps cooling itself beneath the green under-growths that covered the islet. I, consequently, ordered a beat of the islet, but the place was very difficult as ford was practically impossible. The Nullah was only five feet broad, but was deep with shaky mud at the bottom, preventing passage to the islet. Quickly realising my difficulty, I ordered one of my big tuskers to uproot two trees and put them slantwise over the Nullah to enable a light-weight elephant to go over and beat the islet. The beat began from south to north. I stood on the western bank of

the Nullah just at the point where its two channels separate, and a young shikari of mine, Kadam Lal Biswas, kept guard on the eastern bank to prevent the tiger's escape.' After a few minutes of the commencing of the beat, my shikari on the east saw something slowly and cautiously moving towards me and he motioned to me to be ready. My rifle was immediately ready for action ; and as soon as the tiger came within my sight, I took sharp aim and fired. The bullet went out with a terrific bang and the tiger disappeared in a flash. I ordered my men on light elephants to make a search of the wounded game, but no trace could be found. This made me sorely dejected.

At last I ordered my men to beat the islet again, this time from north to south, and had my elephant quickly shifted to the southern junction of the two separated branches of the Nullah—and my shikari, who kept steady watch from the eastern bank, also followed suit. As soon as we took up our new positions, the beat began. The beating elephants made a vigorous searching move all over the islet, but all to no purpose. Then I became much disappointed and ordered the party to return to camp. Hardly had we gone a few paces when one of our out-sider elephants suddenly got frightened and began to trumpet



A big tiger shot by Raja

excitedly, running hither and thither. This alarmed the other elephants too and they also began to roar and run confusedly. The situation became dangerous and we all had to hold tightly the ropes of our elephant pads to save ourselves from fall. In the terrible confusion that followed, a swinging creeper suddenly fastened itself round the neck of our Sawar Jainath Singh, and as the elephant he was riding on did not stop, he frenziedly caught hold of a dangling tree-branch and began to swing in the air. With one hand he quickly disentangled the creeper that had twisted itself round his neck and then let go the branch he was holding with the other hand, dropping down to the ground with a thud. As he was descending, he caught sight of a tiger couched underneath a neighbouring bush, and began to cry piteously like a frightened child, calling

for help. I hastened up to him with some of my selected shikaris who were seated on my Deerhi elephants. These elephants, being trained shikaris, had steadied as soon as the first excitement was over. We helped the Sawar upto one of these, but he could not give out the reason of his sudden fright as he was out of breath. He could only raise his trembling hand in the direction of the bush under which he had seen a tiger. We immediately moved towards the bush, and, to our great surprise and joy, found a tiger there. But it was not alive. One closer inspection, it turned out to be the tiger I had shot.

What seemed to be coming to us with tragic force only a few minutes before, turned out to be a comedy in the end. The Sawar's life was saved. Some other shikaris too had fallen from their pads, but all of them were unhurt. And for all our trials and tribulations, we got our lost tiger. We returned to our camp with delighted hearts, and on inspection found that my bullet had penetrated the front left shoulder of the animal.

This was my fourth record tiger, very noble and robust in appearance. It was over 12 feet 6 inches in length. Up to this I have shot 103 in all.

The poor Sawar has passed away full of years only a few months ago—but all the other shikaris who figured in that fearfully interesting shoot are still alive, and love to recall very often the unforgettable incidents of the day with a thrill of fear and excitement.

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Law and Legislation

C. P. MONEYLENDERS' ACT

The C. P. Moneylenders' Act which was passed at the last session of the provincial Legislative Council has received the assent of the Governor-General and come into force from the third week of October.

The Act is intended to regulate moneylending transactions in the Central Provinces and makes it compulsory for every moneylender to furnish each debtor every year with a statement of accounts signed by the moneylender or his agent, and empowers the courts to penalise those who do not comply with the provisions of the Act by disallowing the whole or any portion of the interest found due and also costs.

The Act further directs that in future no Court shall decree on account of areas of interest a sum greater than the principal of the loan.

U. P. USURIOUS LOANS BILL

The U. P. Legislative Council has passed the Usurious Loans (Amending) Bill, which was the first item on its agenda in the November session. It is also the first of the relief Bills to find a place on the statute book, the other bills standing on the order paper are the Encumbered Estates Bill, the Temporary Regulation of Executions Bill, the Regulation of Sales Bill and the Agriculturists' Relief Bill.

There has been an important official amendment to the Bill, which provides that any interest will be considered excessive if, in the case of loans secured on first mortgage, the rate of interest exceeds 12 per cent per annum, or if the interval between rests is less than six months. An amendment designed to remove the doubt given rise to by the ruling of certain courts regarding the applicability of the bill to past transactions was also incorporated in the Bill.

BILL AMENDING MADRAS E. L. ACT

Mr. M. G. Patnaik, M. L. C., has secured the previous sanction of the Governor-General for his Bill to amend the Madras Estates Land Act, with a view to providing for reduction of rent in the estates in proportion to the fall in prices.

An occupaney ryot paying money rent may, under the amendment, file an application, before the Collector for reduction of rent payable by him on the ground that average local prices of staple food crops in the taluk or zamindari division are lower by not less than 10 per cent than the average figures or prices on the basis of which rent in regard to such land was fixed under Section 40 or under Chapter XI of the Act or otherwise. The reduced rent shall bear to the rent so fixed the

same proportion as the average prices during the Fasli for which the application is made, bear to the average prices on the basis of which the rent had been previously fixed. The application should be made during the Fasli or within six months after the Fasli for which the rent sought to be reduced is due or payable.

On the making of such an application, the Collector shall, after such enquiry as may be prescribed, determine the amount, if any, by which the rent shall be reduced. His order will be final subject to the result of an appeal to the District Collector to be preferred within 30 days of the date of the Collector's order and will hold good until the rent so reduced is modified on an application by the ryot or the landholder who shall be at liberty to apply for enhancement of the rent so reduced on the ground of rise in prices in subsequent Faslis up to the rent originally fixed under Section 40 of Chapter XI of the Act or otherwise.

BUNDELKHAND LAND ALIENATION (AMENDING) BILL

The U. P. Government propose further to amend the Bundelkhand Land Alienation Act with the intent of restricting the powers of the proprietors in regard to granting leases under sec. 11 (1) and usufructuary mortgages under sec. 6 (a), by providing in these sections that the previous approval of the Collector must be obtained to a lease or mortgage proposed under these sections.

The reasons for the amendment are stated as follows.

A recent High Court ruling enables a decree-holder of a money decree in cases under the Bundelkhand Land Alienation Act to obtain a long lease of the judgment-debtor's property from a civil court on the ground that there is nothing to prevent a civil court from executing a decree by doing anything which the deceased debtor could himself have done, as for instance, by granting a lease in accordance with section 11 of the Act. As the civil courts cannot or do not calculate the profits of land so correctly as the Collector does, the result of the ruling is that leases are given frequently for many more years than the Collector would have allowed if the execution of the decrees had been referred to him.

SHORT TERM SENTENCES

In reviewing the annual report on the Administration of Jails in the North West Frontier Province, for the year 1933-34, the Governor in Council observed :

"In the past Government have frequently drawn the attention of the magistracy to the undesirability of short term sentences and the Governor in Council notes with regret that these warnings appear to have had little or no effect. In calling attention to the matter once again he trusts that district magistrates will make special efforts to bring these remarks to the notice of all courts subordinate to them including those of honorary magistrates. A sentence of one month has little or no deterrent effect on an offender and merely serves to aggravate the already acute problem of over crowding of jails in this province, besides involving needless expense and trouble to the jail administration. In most cases in which a sentence of one month has been passed, the Governor in Council believes that a sentence of fine would equally have met the ends of justice."

MEMBER'S RIGHT OF RESIGNATION UPHELD

"The simple question involved in the appeal is whether or not the plaintiff had the right to resign the membership of the Association and cut off his connection with it" observed the Additional Sub-Judge of Agra in dismissing the appeal in *Agra Province Zamindars' Association vs. Mr. Md. Faiyaz Khan.*

The plaintiff-respondent was a member of the defendant-appellant, the Agra Province Zamindars' Association. He resigned the membership by means of two registered notices he sent to the secretary of the Association on May 5, 1931, and June 24, 1932; but in spite of it the Association on March 30, 1932, recovered from him, by getting the collector of Agra to issue a warrant of attachment against him, the amount of Rs. 37-8 which he used to contribute annually as a member and it was attempting to recover in the same way another sum of Rs. 37-8 for the subsequent period when the plaintiff brought the suit, out of which this appeal has arisen. The suit was brought for a declaration that the plaintiff had ceased to be a member of the Association, for an injunction to restrain the Association from realising the amount which it was taking steps to recover and for recovery of two sums of Rs. 37-8 which the Association had realized from him on May 5, 1931 and March 30, 1932.

The defence of the appellant was that all of its members were life-members and the plaintiff was not free to resign. The contributions were, therefore, rightly recovered from him and he was liable to continue to pay them.

The learned munsif decreed the suit for the declaration and injunction sought by respondent and also for recovery of Rs. 37-8 which had been realized from him on March 30, 1932. He disallowed the claim for the other sum of Rs. 37-8. The Association came up in appeal against the decree passed by the munsif.

The learned Sub-Judge upheld the decision of the lower court and said in the course of his judgment :

Apparently any one who can apply for and secure for himself the membership of the organization has also the right to divest himself of the character of a member by resigning the membership and sever his connection with it. This right to resign is recognized under the Common Law of England and is in my opinion an appurtenance or necessary adjunct of a man's freedom of thought and action.

The Agra Province Zamindars' Association is not created by a statute and every zamindar paying a certain amount of revenue does not become a member of it automatically. All zamindars who pay this amount or more have first to apply for its membership and they became members when their applications are granted. The Association was formed by certain leading landholders of the province and is governed by certain rules and regulations framed by it. They contain no provision to the effect that a member shall have no right to resign. It is true that there is no reference whatsoever in the rules and regulations to the subject of resignation by members but mere absence of allusion to resignation is not enough to deprive a man of his right which is natural as well as customary. If the Association intended to take away this right from its members it should have framed rules to that effect. It is to be noted that even in these rules and regulations the members are not described as life-members. Moreover I think that even life-members have the right to resign.

A QUESTION ON CHOTANAGPUR TENANCY LAW

Whether the sale of a raiyati holding under Section 46 Cl. 6 of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act is binding on a landlord even though the sale takes place without his consent was decided by their lordships Mr. Justice MacPherson, Mr. Justice James and Mr. Justice Varma in a case (*Balaram Mahto vs. Lahabhat Mahto*) which went in second appeal to the Patna High Court.

The lower court had held that a tenant who has sold an occupancy holding can surrender his holding after sale and the landlord can go upon the land on such surrender and settle the same with a third party.

Their lordships gave verdict against this proposition and held that a tenant having made a valid transfer has no right to surrender and this surrender does not give anything to the landlord. Section 46 (6) cannot give any right to landlord to ignore a sale and settle a land with a third party after taking surrender thereof from a tenant who divested himself of all interests therein.

PUCCA STRUCTURE AND PERMANENT TENANCY

In *Moslem Molla and others vs. Subal Chandra Roy and others* Mr. Justice M. C. Ghose of the Calcutta High Court has decided to the effect that mere absence of pucca structure or the fact that the tenants have possessed a holding for a long period succeeding from father to son on payment of uniform rent is not a determining factor on the question whether the tenancy is permanent or not.

The plaintiff-respondents brought a suit for a declaration that the defendant-appellants were not permanent but *ticeca* tenants of a part of the land for a long period and trespasser with regard to the other, that they were attempting to raise a pucca structure on the land which they had no right to do and they prayed for an injunction that the defendants be restrained from doing so.

It was proved that the defendants, their father and grandfather had been paying rent at a uniform rate. It also appeared from the record and evidence that the plaintiffs' predecessors had instituted forty years before the present suit a suit for ejectment against the defendants alleging that they were *ticeca* tenants and had no permanent rights. The defendants filed a written statement claiming permanent right and this suit was withdrawn by the plaintiffs. Again in 1918 another suit was instituted by the plaintiffs for ejectment, but this suit also was withdrawn. The present suit was instituted in 1929 and the occasion for it was that at the end of 1928 the defendants were attempting to build a brick structure on the land. The plaintiffs' contention that by this attempt at construction they had notice for the first time that the tenants were claiming a permanent right was disallowed by his lordship who held that the landlords (plaintiffs) had notice of the tenant's claim, yet they had suffered them to remain on the land for forty years before instituting the present suit.

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Matters of Moment

THE REPORT OF THE JOINT PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE

THE long expected report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee was published as we were just going to press. The Report is published in two Volumes, of which the second is concerned entirely with Records, that is, Notes, Memoranda, Interpellation and Resolutions. Volume I consists of the Report which is published in two parts, Part I being the Report proper, Part II being the proceedings of the Committee. We are concerned with Part I here, the Report proper.

It was thoughtful of the Government to have circulated a press summary of the Report which consists of 482 paragraphs in 281 closely printed pages. Since, however, it is not possible within the space at our disposal to reproduce even this press summary in full and since the summary itself has been published in the daily press only the other day, it will be sufficient if we content ourselves by pointing to a few salient features of the scheme of constitutional reform as presented by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The Report has been priced only eight annas so that it is within easy reach of all those who want to make a detailed study of the scheme.

Roughly speaking, the scheme follows in its main outline that of the White Paper. There are, however, important deviations, to which we shall refer presently. The starting plank of the scheme is Provincial Autonomy with Federation to be provided for in the same Constitution Act but not to be brought into being until certain conditions are satisfied. The first is that it must be a Federation for all India, British India as well as Princely India. The conferment of responsibility at the Centre is linked with this condition for it is roundly stated that "a responsible British India Centre is not a possible solution of the constitutional problem." In other words, if British India wants to be free, the whole of India must be compelled to be free. The J. P. Committee accept the principle laid down in the White Paper that a condition precedent to Federation should be that Rulers of States "representing not less than half the aggregate population of the States and entitled to not less than half the seats allotted to the States in the Federal Upper Chamber, have signified to His Majesty their desire to accede to the Federation."

The Federal Executive will be constituted on the lines laid down in the White Paper. The Reserved Departments will be—Defence, Foreign

Affairs, Ecclesiastical and British Baluchisthan. As regards, Defence, even the extent and methods of consultation between members of the Federal Legislature and the Department are made to rest on the discretion of the Government. Military Finance and the Military Accounts Department which are at present part of the Finance Department of the Government of India and not of the Army Department would be transferred to the Department of Defence. For the purposes of the Reserved Departments and in view of the Governor-General's special responsibility in relation thereto, the scheme contemplates the appointment of three Counsellors served with "an adequate staff", who shall be ex-officio members of both chambers of the legislature with full powers of taking part in debates but without any right to vote.

The "special responsibilities" of which seven varieties are mentioned in the White Paper are, of course, all there. Regarding the question of commercial discrimination, the J. P. Committee divide the question into two parts : discrimination, administrative as well as legislative, in fact or in form, against British commercial interests and British trade in India ; and, discrimination against British imports. In the first case, a provision in the Constitution Act against legislative discrimination is recommended which would be used to prevent administrative discrimination as well by the exercise of the Governor-General's special responsibility. It should be provided that no law restricting the right of entry into British India should apply to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom (except in case of undesirable persons) and "no law relating to taxation, travel and residence, the holding of property, the holding of public office, or or the carrying on of any trade, business or profession in British India should apply to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom, in so far as it imposes any conditions or restrictions based upon domicile, residence or duration of residence, language, race, religion or place of birth." A special provision against discrimination is made in regard to shipping. The grant of bounties and subsidies shall not include any conditions adverse to the eligibility of companies already engaged in that branch of trade or industry which it is the purpose of the grant to stimulate. The conditions (such as those contemplated by the External Capital Committee and since adopted by the Government) will apply only in regard to companies engaging in that branch of the trade or industry subsequently. As regards discrimination against British imports, it will be the duty of the Governor-General "to intervene in tariff policy.....only if in his opinion the intention of the policy contemplated is to subject trade between the United Kingdom and India to restrictions conceived, not in the interests of India but with the object of injuring the interests of the United Kingdom." The penal treatment against British India imports includes 'differential treatment of various types of products.' This is a new feature of the Report of the J. P. Committee compared to the White Paper.

The Provincial Executive also will be armed with powers indicated in the White Paper whose recommendations are generally followed in this regard. There are two major deviations. Governor's Acts like Ordinances must have to be laid before Parliament and must have the previous sanction of the Governor-General, the second deviation is connected with the situation brought about by terrorism in Bengal. In order to combat terrorism, a special discretionary power is proposed to be given to the Governor of Bengal "to assume charge, to such extent as he may judge requisite, of any branch of the Government which he thinks it necessary to employ to combat such activities, or if necessary to create new machinery for the purpose," and the Committee declare that "if conditions in Bengal at the time of the inauguration of the Provincial Autonomy have not materially improved, it would, in our judgment, be essential that the Governor of that Province should exercise the powers we have just described forthwith and should be directed to do so in his Instrument of Instructions which, in this as in other respects, would remain in force until amended with the consent of Parliament."

So far as the legislature is concerned, the Federal Legislature will consist of two Houses, the Council of State consisting of 150 British India representatives together with 6 members nominated by the Governor-General in his discretion, and the Federal House of Assembly consisting of 250 British India representatives. The States would be represented by 100 seats in the Upper House bringing up the total to 250, and by 125 seats in the House of Assembly bringing up the total to 375. The Council of State will be a non-dissoluble body, a third of its members retiring every 3 years. Election will, therefore, be according to a special plan which is explained in Appendix II of Section IV of the Report. A very important point of departure from the White Paper scheme is in regard to the system of election proposed for the Federal House of Assembly. The election is to be indirect. Election to the seats allocated as General or Mahomedan will be by the members of the Provincial Lower House who hold respectively General or Mahomedan seats in that House. In the Punjab, those members who hold Sikh seats in the Provincial Legislature will elect to the six Sikh seats from the Punjab in the Assembly. The method of voting will be the single transferable vote. Special arrangements have been proposed for the Depressed class seats. There is without doubt the utmost likelihood of these proposals raising a storm of protest from Indian quarters. Representatives from India have almost unanimously pleaded for direct election and that was also the view adopted by the British India Delegation in their Joint Memorandum. The J. P. Committee, however, appear to be definite in their view that if the responsibility of the representative to the electorate is to be made effective, indirect election is the only way for a vast country like India unless, of course, the number of seats were increased to an unwieldy figure.

In the Provinces, second chambers have been proposed, in addition to Bengal, Bihar and U. P. as recommended by the White Paper, for

Bombay and Madras as well. The seats include nominated, directly elected, and indirectly elected, by members of the Provincial Lower House. In Bombay, Madras and U. P. there would be no seats for indirect election. The proportion of nominated seats varies between 10 to 18 per cent.

The Communal Award together with its concomitant, the Poona Pact, is, of course, accepted and the case of Bengal Caste Hindus is recognized in the suggestion that is made for "some reduction" in the seats allocated to the Depressed classes in Bengal, possibly with a compensatory increase in the number of their seats in the other Provinces. The franchise recommended in the White Paper is approved with slight modifications. It will have the effect of enfranchising 14 p. c. of the male population, as compared to the present 3 per cent, resulting in between 28 to 29 millions of the people being enfranchised.

As regards the vexed question of residuary powers, two exclusive lists and one list embodying concurrent powers have been carefully prepared with the proviso that it shall be within the discretion of the Governor-General to allocate to either of the two exclusive lists the right to legislate on matters not included within the lists.

So far as the Services are concerned, it is recommended that recruitment by the Secretary of State should stop except in the case of the Imperial Police and Indian Civil Services.

There should be a Federal Court but no supreme Court.

Burma's separation is recommended subject to a mutual adjustment of assets and liabilities and the conclusion of a Trade Convention.

THE PROGRESS OF INDIAN INSURANCE

The large number of insurance companies which have grown up in India during the last few years, particularly during the last two, makes the issue of the Insurance Year Book which is a Government publication, a matter of great interest. It is, however, a matter of regret that the Department concerned is singularly remiss in securing a timely publication of the Report. The latest that is in our hands, published a few weeks ago, is the Year Book for 1933 in which figures are brought up to 1932 together with a few figures which have been so far available for the year 1933. A Report which is meant to be a current annual publication loses much of its usefulness if it keeps on talking of things which happened two years ago. It is a disgrace in an age of speed.

Now for the facts, the total number of insurance companies subject to the Acts of 1912 and 1928 are 319 of which those constituted in India number 169, and those outside 150. Of the companies constituted in India, 124 write only life business, 29 write life with other forms of insurance and 16 write only non-life business. That it is only recently that life insurance in India has made any great strides is borne by the fact that

of the 153 companies constituted in this country writing life business, as many as 119 have been established since the year 1918, that is, after the Acts of 1912 had been passed. As many as 64, that is, more than 50 per cent. of the companies established since 1918, were constituted during the last four years. This means that progress has been far too rapid during the last few years, a matter which has been causing some concern to many well-wishers of Indian insurance. The field which yet lies ahead is, however, vast and there is no reason why we should prefer to rest on our oars. As we shall presently see, non-Indian offices yet take a very large slice of the savings of our countrymen, though the share of Indian companies has been steadily increasing. There is room yet for a net advance, for in a country like India, only 7,74,000 policies were in force in 1932 (Indian and non-Indian companies together) which even if we assume every policy to have been taken out by a separate individual represents but a small fraction of the insurable public. The average sum assured per policy held with an Indian company during 1931 and 1932 was Rs. 1764 and Rs. 1674, respectively, while that with a non-Indian company was Rs. 3,400 and Rs. 3,376, respectively. Here also there is scope for improvement.

The distribution of the Indian companies among the different Provinces shows Bombay coming as the easy first with 68 companies, Bengal following with 31 companies, Madras 26 and the Punjab 19. Of the non-Indian companies those registered in the United Kingdom number 71, Dominions and Colonies 31, the continent of Europe 18, U. S. A. 16, Japan 9, Java 5. The total number of non-Indian companies in 1932 was 150, a fact which is a reminder that the country is not yet surfeited with Indian companies. But as we have just noted there is room yet for a net advance, for non-Indian as well as Indian companies. As it is, Indian companies have been doing very well. During the decade 1923-1932, the total life assurance income of Indian companies rose from Rs. 249 lakhs to Rs. 688 lakhs. The following figures will bear further evidence of the progress of Indian companies (the figures relate to 1932).

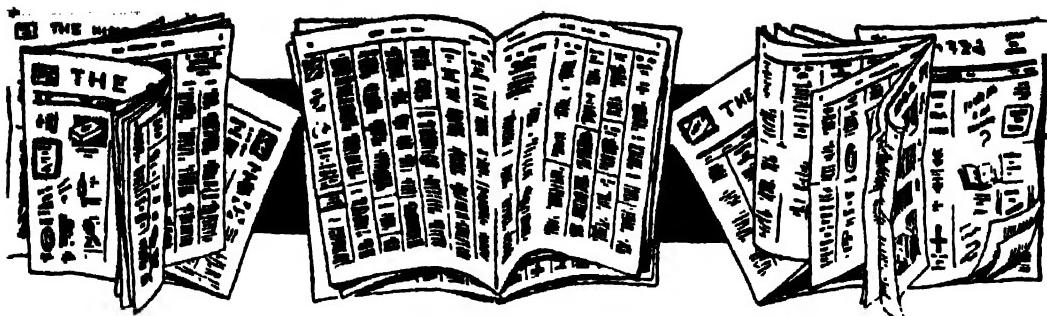
Items.	Indian.	Non-Indian.	Total.
No. of policies ...	113,000	26,000	139,000
Total new business ...	Rs. 19 crores	Rs. 8½ crores	Rs. 27½ crores
Total new premium income.	Rs. 1 crore	Rs. ½ crore	Rs. 1½ crores
Total business in force (effected in India).	Rs. 102 crores	Rs. 76 crores	Rs. 178 crores
Total premium income in force.	Rs. 4½ crores	Rs. 4½ crores	Rs. 9 crores

It is significant that while the total business in force increased by Rs. 10 crores during 1931-32, Indian companies captured as much as Rs. crores of the increase. The total new business of all Insurance companies (life) increased by only Rs. 1 crore during 1931-32 while that of

Indian companies only increased by Rs. 2 crores, the increase of one crore being at the cost of Dominion and Colonial companies. Figures relating to valuation results are also very satisfactory. The Year Book contains the results of the latest actuarial valuations of 56 Indian life offices of which 48 have disclosed a surplus and 8 disclosed a deficit, out of which in 6 cases the deficit was covered by the paid up capital and in the other two fresh capital had to be issued. This shows that the Companies have generally been following sound investment policies. The total assets of Indian companies amount to Rs. 31½ crores of which Rs. 21½ crores are invested in stock exchange securities, Rs. 4½ crores in loans against mortgages, loans on policies, stocks and shares, and Rs. 1½ crores represent investment in land and house property. The total Indian assets of non-Indian companies are Rs. 37½ crores. Two criticisms in respect of these assets have been made. It is pointed out, in the first place, that these deposits are disproportionately small in relation to their total life business and, secondly, that while details of Government deposits of Indian companies have been given in the Year Book, corresponding information in regard to non-Indian companies is not available. It may be remarked here that unlike the Indian companies, the non-Indian companies are not required to make any deposit with the Government of India before starting their operations. A maximum of Rs. 2 lakhs is required in the case of Indian life offices.

While, however, Indian companies have made notable progress in life insurance business, their progress has been very slow in the case of non-life business. There were in 1932 only 45 Indian Insurance offices writing non-life business either exclusively or in conjunction with life. Of the total net premium income of Rs. 2½ crores from non-life business (fire, marine and miscellaneous), the share of Indian companies was only Rs. ¾ crores. It may be mentioned here that though Acts have been passed regulating life insurance business in India, non-life companies are at present subject to no special legislative enactments.

Another feature to which we draw attention is the existence of a large number of provident insurance societies. The Year Book states that 369 Provident Societies have so far been registered under the Provident Insurance Act of 1932. The Year Book's strictures on the "Dividing Plan" scheme of insurance and the discreditable record of many of these Provident societies show that there is need for considerable caution in regard to the management, working, and financial stability of these societies.



Gleanings

ROOSEVELT AND THE AMERICAN FARMER

Dr. H. L. Dey, M. A., D. Sc., contributes a thoughtful article on "Roosevelt's Great Economic Experiment" to the pages of the latest number of the *Indian Review*. Referring in the course of his discussion to the agrarian situation in America and President Roosevelt's measures to relieve the same, he says :

The economic difficulties of the American farmer are exactly like those of the Indian peasant. During the last five years the value of his cash crops has gone down by some 40-60 per cent. and his purchasing power and debt-paying capacity have also declined in proportion. Thus between 1929 and 1933, the gross income of the American farmers from crops and live-stock fell off from 12,000 million dollars to only 5,000 million dollars, while the amount of mortgage debts mounted up from 3,300 million dollars in 1910 to 8,500 million dollars in 1933. In the same period, however, the prices of his tools and implements, and cloths and boots and shoes were reduced by only 25 per cent, while the real burden of his debt and land taxes practically doubled. The farmers were on the brink of a rebellion in the early part of 1933 and President Roosevelt had scarcely assumed office before he was called upon to deal with the situation quickly and extraordinarily. Within ten weeks, he placed on the Statute-Book two agrarian measures of a sweeping and revolutionary character.

Under the first and the more important of these measures, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, it is attempted to increase the income of the peasant by raising prices through limitation of production. It is proposed to reduce the area under cotton 40 per cent., and hogs 25 per cent. And similarly for other products. But the method employed is persuasion and not compulsion. And propaganda is backed up by rewards. Every cultivator is to be given a bounty in proportion to the area he puts out of cultivation. It is estimated that the bounty will cost the Treasury the sum of 400 million dollars. And this vast amount is to be raised by means of a special levy on the manufacturer. The levy is called the processing tax and it is imposed on all raw materials consumed within the country. It is expected that the limitation of output will also increase the farmers' income by 500-600 million dollars. The objective of this measure is to restore the balance between the production and consumption of primary commodities. And the effect of this measure is to transfer purchasing power from the manufacturer, the salary-earner and the fixed-income classes to the farmer.

The second of the measures, the Emergency Farm Mortgage Act, authorises the Federal Land Banks (land mortgage banks) to issue debentures up to 2,000 million dollars at 4 per cent. interest, the interest to be guaranteed by the Government. The money is to be widely and liberally used in relieving the burden of indebtedness. The object of this measure is to increase the supply of cheap agricultural credit, to liquefy the frozen assets of banks and insurance companies which have invested in land mortgages, to lighten the pressure of debts, to ensure to the creditor a regular payment by small instalments in exchange for reduction of interest, which is guaranteed. The essence of the scheme is to readjust the debts and then to take over the task of liquidation on the

shoulders of the State and State-aided institutions. It will not perhaps be out of place here to mention that the plan of debt relief in the U. S. A is essentially the same as is proposed for the different provinces of India, viz., land mortgage banks and conciliation boards. The only difference is that whereas in America they are attacking the problem on an extensive front, we in India are still halting and hesitant with our programme.

THE IDEAL OF SERVICE

Writing in the pages of the *Hindustan Review* Mr. S. G. Warty, M. A., says that both the ideals of individual development and citizenship have been found incomplete, the one, because it lacked a distinct social purpose, and the other, because it emphasized the glory of the political State at the expense of mankind in general.

We are now in need [he says] of an ideal which will serve a social purpose and will also regard all men as of one family without distinction of creed, race or nationality. This new ideal I call the ideal of service in education.

To attain this ideal in practice our educators have not only to train and develop the intellectual powers of the pupils entrusted to their care, but also simultaneously to train in them the will and the habit to devote those powers to the service of their fellow-beings. The instinct of *neighbourliness* has to be developed, not in the restricted sense of citizenship but in the larger sense in which the term was used by Jesus Christ in his parable of the Good Samaritan. The pupils must be taught from the very beginning, to think and speak, not in terms of nationality or creed or race, but in terms of the human kind. In the present era of competition, we consider ourselves most successful when we are clever enough to get the better of others by striving for individual happiness. In the new era of co-operation and service, that is to come, that man alone would be considered to be truly successful in life, who has found his happiness in the happiness of his fellow-beings.

If this new aim of education be accepted, it will then be the duty of educationists to devise a well-graded and well-planned syllabus to attain this aim. The whole subject can indeed be expanded into a volume, but I may give here an idea of how this process can be started. Let us take a class in the primary stage. The teacher should not only inspire in his pupils the love of human kind by telling them short stories of kind deeds done by the good men of the past and the present, but should also simultaneously get some practical work done by them as part of the regular studies and curricula of the school.

So far as the practical work is concerned, the teacher may, for example, ask each one of his pupils to visit all the houses in his neighbourhood to examine the sanitary conditions, the toll of sickness, the cases of starvation etc. etc., by himself first initiating them in the task. He may then discuss with his pupils the means and methods of assistance where necessary, and yoke them to such practical service as lies within their power to render. Thereby the pupils will acquire the habit of looking after the interests of their neighbours with a kindly eye, and will also develop in themselves a social and humanitarian outlook as opposed to the purely individualistic and selfish, an outlook which may govern their actions throughout their life. Care must be taken to see that the sentiments roused and the activity stimulated are spontaneous and not forced in the slightest degree, for which purpose all the best skill of the teacher and all the best educative methods must be put to use. Such a process of training continued throughout the educational course in a well-planned, well-graded syllabus, would help to bring us nearer the ideal we aim at.

SECRET OF GOLD EXPORT POLICY

Gold has now been exported from India over two crores of rupees. But no satisfactory explanation thereof has been offered by the British Government beyond the suggestion that through the export of gold India has been able to retain her purchasing power of foreign goods. The

main objective, says Mr. S. Ernest Devalal B. C. S., (New York) in the *Roy's Weekly*, was something different.

Reviewing the gold position in various countries, I cannot understand what other policy the British Government could have followed with regard to gold supplies from India. As circumstances would have it, nearly 2 billion dollars worth of gold is stored in the U. S. A. and France, thus leaving it inadequate for the rest of the world, not to speak of the backing for internal monetary system.

To even entertain the idea that such gold as was in the U. S. A. and France could be redistributed would be too presumptuous since neither of these countries are out to purchase any appreciable quantity from any country. In fact both of them are sellers and are keen to get favourable balance of trade in their own favour. Then, again, they are both creditor countries; as such capital and gold would flow to them rather than their exporting gold to any country. Furthermore, with the unsettled political conditions in Europe neither the U. S. A. nor France would be prepared to grant loans to any of the European States.

In short from these two countries Great Britain had no reasonable hope of building up her gold reserves, which was most imperative not only from the point of view of international exchanges and stability of her internal monetary system, but to secure and solidify her financial position by having the real yellow metal in the Bank of England, so that in case of war, it may help her purchases of food supplies and other requirements of war. It was a clever move on the part of the British Cabinet to get the Secretary of State to tap the gold in India and they have succeeded in exporting gold to the extent of £ 155,000,000. This amount represents more than the total gold holdings of the Bank of England, (£ 140,000,000) on which were based £ 400,000,000 nationally authorised semi-State Bank notes and £ 1,750,000,000 privately manufactured Bank Deposit Currency circulated by cheques. Thus India has been deprived of her gold which could have been the basis of her national wealth and an aid to the promotion and development of her trade, commerce and industries.

Looking at it from another point of view the position of Great Britain of late has been that her currency system is based on Sterling and not on gold, which, in other words, means that their credit in the international market is not what it was when she was on the gold standard. Moreover, when every country is thinking of war and making preparation for it, it would have been a great folly indeed if Great Britain had not taken steps to reimburse himself with gold.

AGRICULTURAL GUIDE SOCIETIES

In the same journal Mr. G. S. Bedi, B. A., writes to say that although rural reconstruction measures such as consolidation of holdings, establishment of village co-operative shops, subsidiary industries, use of good manure, seed and cattle, introduction of suitable crops and fodder, etc., are being discussed and preached, "the pity is that they have not been rightly and properly explained to the zamindar." He suggests that every village should have an Agricultural Guide Society to guide its people.

The chief function of the society will be to explain fully to the villagers all the schemes, that are devised from time to time for their good. The society can get small illustrated books about the growing, harvesting, and threshing of wheat, and the production of cotton, sugar, tobacco etc. Pamphlets published by the Agricultural Departments in Canada Australia, Russia, about the co-operative system in Canada and U. S. A. should also be made use of. All this literature should be constantly read out to the villagers and explained even with the help of pictures and cinema lorries. When he will see comforts and luxuries of life enjoyed by his brother in other lands, the desire to grow and become like him will also arise in him. Then he will begin to have faith in all these new schemes.

Secondly, the Society should help the village in the matter of crops and fodder. A list of crops in rotation can be prepared by the Society in consultation with the Agriculture Inspector and tried. The crops for fodder should also be selected.

Thirdly, the society should find out what subsidiary industry can be tried in the village. Now the Mandi Hydro-Electric scheme would give us electricity and it is up to us to make what use we can make of it in our villages. It is a thing of primary necessity that some source of additional income and work, when he has nothing to do, should be provided.

Last of all, the society should also make an attempt to start a co-operative shop and stores. Co-operative system can also be tried in watering the land, in harvesting, threshing, and marketing, etc.

That is how, I think, "Agricultural Guide Society" in consultation with the officials of the Agriculture Department, can hope to persuade the villagers by means of agricultural and industrial literature, propaganda, talks and discussions, to have faith in consolidation, co-operation and scientific methods of agriculture and to have confidence in the officials concerned. This faith and confidence, I venture to hope, will bring about a good deal of success. I also wish to sound a note of warning here that the success of the society will entirely depend on the judicious selection of its members. Educated people who have real sympathy with the *samindar* and can win his confidence, will surely succeed in enabling him to understand all these things. These Village Guide Societies should be affiliated to the District Agricultural Association.

WINDOW GARDENING

The following notes on window gardening appear in the columns of the *Hindu* from the pen of Mr. K. S. Gopalaswamiengar, B.A., B.L., F.R.H.S., Bangalore :—

Window Gardening consists in growing plants in windows and similar openings in boxes made for the purpose. Grown in a systematic way, window plants provide satisfaction and pleasure. Not only do they tend to the better enjoyment of the inmates of the residence in a large garden, but they do offer an opportunity for those who live in crowded localities, with not a bit of ground to grow their plants in.

Window boxes may be made of burnt clay as the ordinary flower pots in rectangular blocks two feet or so long and six to ten inches deep and about ten inches wide. They may also be made of wood and painted with a suitable colour. For purposes of drainage, they should have two or three holes in the bottom and these should be covered with old crocks, gravel stones and sand as in draining ordinary pots. The soil which is suited for most plants is a mixture made up of two parts of red earth, one part of sand, one part of leaf mould, and two parts of well decomposed manure. It is essential it should be rich to sustain the growth of the plants over a long period in the limited space available for their roots. Application of liquid manure should be given once a fortnight when the plants are growing well, especially when they get "pot bound", that is, when the roots have increased and filled the pot. Regular watering should be done, not allowing the plants to wilt for want of water. Watering should not however be too frequently done which results in turning the soil sour. When the plants have fully grown, it is very desirable to stir into the soil some well decomposed manure mixed with loam to provide some slower acting but substantial food to the plant than liquid manure. Half a dozen table spoonfuls of bone meal stirred into the soil, or mixed along with the compost to start with, is attended with beneficial results.

There are several varieties of plants which may be grown in window boxes. Slender creepers as jacquemontia coerulea, climbing nasturtium, variegated vinca, maurandia, climbing ferns, etc., can be grown against a frame or trellis fixed into the box. Petunias, 'bancony' lobelias, tuberous-rooted begonias of the decumbens type, tradescantia, ivy geraniums, etc., fill a box well, cover the sides of the box and look charming with either foliage or flower or both. Coleus, irsene, rex begonia, and such handsome foliaged plants can also be used to brighten the widow. Young palms, dracaenas, panaxes, ferns etc., can also be used with marked effect.

To save the monotony of having the same plants in the boxes for all time, it is always desirable to grow some suitable varieties of plants in pots so that they may be straightaway put into the boxes, when wanted.

THE OTTAWA DEAL

The following observations of Prof. H. B. Lees-Smith on the origin and results of the Ottawa Conference, which appear in the pages of the *Current History*, are interesting reading :

One of the benefits that the National Government promised Great Britain was Imperial Preference. The Ottawa Conference at last brought that about. The Dominions had for many years given Great Britain certain preferences in their tariffs, but the free-trade system had prevented her from granting any substantial reciprocity. Now that Great Britain had a tariff she ought in theory to be able to offer the Dominions preferences of real value and obtain in return increased preferences from them which would give British exports a continually rising share in their expanding markets. The National Government accepted this theory, but it has always been inherently unsound. The Dominions are determined to develop their own manufactures and their most formidable competitor is Great Britain herself. They cannot give her really effective preferences, for any increase in the imports of British manufactures can only be at the expense of the industries they wish to build up for themselves. The test of the Ottawa Conference was whether it could resolve this dilemma, but it could not

Canada increased the tariff on both British and other imports to record heights few months before the Conference began. Prime Minister Bennett gave the mother country certain preferences at Ottawa but on examination it is found that the tariff against Great Britain to-day is higher than before he came into office. British exports to Canada have, in fact, fallen since the Conference was held. The Australian representatives at the Conference proudly stated that they could give Great Britain nothing without the authority of their Parliament, and they followed this up on their return with such meagre measure that all interest in them was evaporated. In New Zealand the Prime Minister, on his return from Ottawa explained to his Parliament that he had merely ante-dated by six months certain changes which would have been made without any Ottawa Conference. South Africa has declared both before, during and since the Conference that she had little to ask and still less to give. British Ministers since their return from Ottawa have been markedly silent about Imperial Preference, and it has sunk to the level of a minor political issue. The basis of a good trade bargain between Great Britain and her Dominions does not exist and the Ottawa Conference will be the first and last effort artificially to create it

The failure of the Ottawa Conference has shown that protection carries in its heart a deadly peril to the future of the British Empire. The farmer in Great Britain has won for himself protection against the foreigner, only to find that the place of the foreigner has been taken by the Dominions. As the imports of meat and dairy produce from Argentina and Denmark have been cut down, more and more have come from Australia and New Zealand. The English farmer finds it just as unpleasant to be ruined by an Australian as by an Argentinean. He is forcing the National Government to start excluding Empire goods. This latest peril to the Empire is shown by the dispute with New Zealand who sends 80 per cent of her produce to England. If Great Britain cuts off exports from New Zealand to what is practically her only market, she will be ruined. She will be unable to buy British goods or admit British settlers or pay interest on British capital. Protection has ranged the British farmer against the British Empire and has nothing to offer to end the miserable quarrel.

Activities of Landholders' Associations

THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION, OUDH.

THE British Indian Association of the Taluqdars of Oudh is one of the oldest Associations in India, having been established in 1862. It has statutory recognition and its membership is hereditary. Its activities and importance date from the time of Lord Canning. Its members, the taluqdars, have a special law of inheritance which is applicable to all, irrespective of religion and hold their property under sanads by which the Crown has bestowed on them full rights, titles and possessions. They have been in enjoyment of other special privileges which they greatly cherish.

In November 1882, when an important step towards Indianising the army was taken by the opening of the Military Academy at Dehra Dun for training Indian cadets, the Local Government invited the Association to co-operate with them by founding an annual scholarship to assist deserving boys of the province at the Academy. Being thus approached, the Association decided to pay half amount of the fees payable for the five terms i. e., half of Rs. 3,850 to the deserving son of a Taluqdar who joined the Academy.

The Colvin Taluqdars' School, a large part of whose funds is drawn annually from Taluqdars Cess, is a standing testimony to the interest the Association takes in the education of the sons and heirs of its members. Yet another evidence of this interest was supplied when at the recent conversion of the school into an Intermediate College, the Association guaranteed a grant of Rs. 3,000 a year for five years to the school provided the Government continued to make their promised block grant of Rs 20,000 during the same period.

The Association put on record its emphatic protest against the Communal Award announced by the Premier, unjustifiably allotting six seats only to the landlords of the United Provinces in the reformed Legislative Council. It urged in the memorandum submitted jointly with the Agra Province Zamindars' Association to the Governor-General of India that when the franchise was going to be enlarged and the strength of the provincial legislature would thereby become more than doubled, "it is only fair and proper that there should be a proportionate increase in the number of seats for our community which should under no circumstances be less than 12 seats in these provinces". It also claimed a greater voice for the landlords, corresponding to their important position in the country, in the Central Legislature. It has demanded the establishment of a Second Chamber in the province for safeguarding landlords' interests

and never ceased to emphasise the importance of adequate representation of the landlords of the province, in civil and military services in view of their traditional loyalty and general suitability for all kinds of posts of administrative and military importance.

In May 1933, the Association sent a memorandum to the Chairman, Joint Select Committee, setting forth the claim of the landlords of the province generally and of the Taluqdars of Oudh in particular to a much larger special representation in the legislatures than has been awarded under the Premier's Award. It sent its Secretary, Raja Saiyed Mohammad Mehdi of Pirpur, to London to appear and give evidence on its behalf before the Joint Select Committee.

In view of the impending change in the constitution the Association considers the organisation of the zamindars of the province as very important for upholding and protecting their interests as well as those of the country in general. The Select Committee of the Association recommended in April 1933 the early establishment of district associations with the British Indian Association of Oudh as the central body and a comprehensive programme of work, including promotion of good relations between landlords and tenants, communal concord, development of arts, crafts and agriculture, opposition to subversive political activities, repeal of repressive measures, etc.

The Association drew the attention of the Board of Revenue to the practice which, it was informed, was obtaining in the estates under the Court of Wards to realise the current demand from tenants leaving the arrears of rents to be remitted after some time or to become time-barred. It suggested that this practice should stop and that the realisation staff should be instructed to try to recover the arrears due from a *khastkar* first and then the current demand; that arrears should on no account be allowed to become time-barred and wherever possible pronotes should be taken to safeguard the interest of the proprietor.

A new political party called the National Agriculturists Party of Oudh has been recently inaugurated under the auspices of the Association mainly with the object of improving the condition of the agriculturists and securing political advancement of the province. Steps are being taken to open branch organisations in the districts. Non-agriculturists have been excluded from membership of the Party which is confined only to zamindars, paying not less than Rs. 10 as land revenue and tenants not less than Rs. 20 as rent.

The Association is making steady progress under the ægis of its able President, Raja Rampal Singh, K. C. I. E.

MALDA LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

The landholders of Malda long felt the want of an Association for maintaining their interests and ventilating their grievances. At last Rai Saheb Jadunandan Choudhury and other leading gentlemen took the lead in the matter and invited the landholders of the district to meet publicly to discuss matters concerning themselves. They met on the 20th of March, 1931, and formed the Landholders' Association of Malda with the following office-bearers:—

Raja Sarat Chandra Roy Choudhury, *President*; Roy Saheb Jadunandan Choudhury, *Vice-President*; Babu Ashutosh Choudhury and Babu Nisitha Nath Ghatak, *Jt. Secretaries*; Babu Ashutosh Choudhury, *Treasurer*; and Khan Bahadur Abdul Hayat Khan Choudhury, *Asst Secy.*

A Working Committee was also formed with the following members:—

Rai Sahib Jadunandan Choudhury, Babu Ashutosh Choudhury, Babu Nisitha Nath Ghatak, Moulavi Zaboor Ahammad Choudhury, Babu Kanti Chandra Basu, Babu Jamini Kanta De, Babu Janaki Nath Roy, Mahammad Sadiruddin Choudhury, and Sadmanir Ahammad Choudhury, Kazi Ajaharuddin, Abammad, Babu Amarendra Nath Roy, Babu Girija Kanta Das, Md. Azizur Rahaman Khan, Md. Ibrahim Khan, Babu Kamala Kanta Bagchi, Babu Ramkinkar Roy, Babu Govinda Mohan Mazumdar, Babu Phanindra Chandra Dobey, Babu Jatindra Narayan Roy, Babu Nripendra Narayan Roy, and Moulavi Md. Abdul Hakim Sha.

Shortly after the formation of the Association, the landholders, who were already suffering from the economic depression, had to face huge settlement costs. The Association immediately took up the cause and moved the authorities for payment of the costs by instalments. At last instalments were granted, and many landholders who were in a fix on account of this heavy charge on their impoverished resources, were saved.

The Road Cess charge, which was very heavy on account of the last revaluation, caused great hardship to the landlords. The agricultural community of Malda depends, besides the staple food crops, upon silk lac, jute and mangoe. But unfortunately the silk industry is in a dying condition. The mangoe trees, instead of bearing fruit annually, bear every third year now, on account of climatic change. Moreover, mangoes do not fetch the same price as before. The present price is about one-fourth of the former price. The price of jute and lac has also gone down enormously. So the economic condition of Malda is pitiable. To add to their misery the landlords are now to pay Road Cess at a very high rate fixed at a time when there was no economic depression.

The Association took up this matter in right earnest and moved the authorities for its redress. The matter is now pending before the District Magistrate of Malda and it is hoped that the landholders will get redress at his hands and will be relieved of this inequitable burden.

All over Bengal the landlords had to face various difficulties in withdrawing landlords' fees and transfer fees and it is high time that the matter should be discussed in a meeting of the landholders of Bengal. The landlords of Malda had to face the same difficulties. In the case of landlords' fees, it was only allowed to be withdrawn on the joint petition of the co-sharer landlords. This was practically impossible in many cases and landlords' fees could not be withdrawn. The Association took up this matter and moved the authorities. Government was pleased to grant their prayer and co-sharer landlords now can withdraw it separately. The rules regarding the withdrawal of landlords' transfer fees are still harsh and not uniform and the Association is considering this matter and trying to devise means to get out of this difficulty.

Owing to their inability to meet any heavy financial demands in their present economic plight, the landholders of Malda only some time ago approached the authorities for easy instalments for payment of settlement costs and the latter were kind enough to grant their prayer. They have been acting up to that arrangement ever since. But to their great dismay, the Director of Land Records has recently issued an order to start certificate cases against every landlord, whether he is a defaulter or not in payment of his instalment of the settlement costs and to realise interest on the entire unpaid sum, and this at a time when the economic situation has positively worsened owing to a heavy flood over the major portion of the district destroying standing crops and the landlords are unable to realise any rent from their tenants. The Association looks upon it as a violation of a solemn assurance by the Government and has sent a memorial to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal and Member, Revenue Board, narrating their grievances and praying that the previous order regarding instalments be respected and the order for realisation of interest on instalments not yet due be rescinded. The Government, it hopes, would sympathetically consider their case and order instalments to be paid in accordance with the previous arrangement.

Reviews

THE PROBLEM OF PAUPERISM IN BENGAL. A Paper read by Debendra Nath Ghose, M. A., at the Indian Institute of Economics, Calcutta, on the 14th September, 1934.

We have gone through the paper carefully and have no hesitation in stating that it is a notable contribution to the solution of a problem of immense importance to humanity. In recent years, particularly in the United States of America, there has been a movement for the harnessing of science to the task of poor relief due to an enlightened sense of social values. In Bengal, the problem has received scant attention, but the thought which Mr. Ghose has bestowed on the subject and the masterly presentation of his thesis are symptomatic of the dawning of the new consciousness, of the new civic ideal, even in this benighted province of ours. Till recently, following the traditions of the East, we vaunted our doctrine of self-denial and self-effacement as the very essence of life's philosophy, but an enlightened conscience oppressed with the sense of poverty, filth and squalor that lie all around—the wreckage of civilisation—can ill afford to compromise with a doctrine which inhibits all enterprise and which draws for its inspiration and validity upon a perverted sense of service to humanity. We cannot express the new attitude towards the problem better than in the trenchant words of Mr. Ghose himself, who says "The cult of self-denial and self-effacement from the workhouse of life is a cult of the dying and the timid. In the twentieth century, this cult should qualify a nation for the asylum and the individual for the reformatory".

In fact, we had our doctrine of plain living and high thinking, and the doctrine of the *daridranarayana*. But we have seldom made any effort to bring our doctrines in line with scientific thought on the subject with the result that they have been practically atrophied in an irrational interpretation and application of those doctrines in an average mind. Even in the twentieth century, in Bengal, we have got our army of engineers for building bridges, constructing roads and manufacturing machines but no social engineer to reconstruct society in which the service of each and all shall be brought to bear on the promotion of human welfare and no wastage allowed of material that could be of any service in that noble task. There is, thus, an immense scope for the encouragement of scientific thought on the subject. Most of the relief that the poor now obtain—and the poor ought to be distinguished from the pauper—is inadequate and improperly distributed, and the real problem of pauperism is not touched at all.

The Bengal Census for 1931 enumerate 167,018 only as the number of the paupers but it is, as Mr. Ghose points out, only a small part of the submerged iceberg that constitutes a huge mass of unemployment. Most

of the unemployed people, of course, depend on their parents, guardians and other relatives or friends for relief, and these should in strictness be excluded from the category of paupers. The line that divides the pauper from the poor is crossed when a person is obliged to depend upon public relief, or where public relief is not available, on the charity of strangers. In a large city like Calcutta, the problem is further intensified by the influx of immigrants from other provinces and the existence of a large army of lepers and other diseased beggars. Suitable accommodation for these is as difficult to obtain as a rational attitude for their treatment is difficult to inculcate. Mr. Ghose's paper, as we said, is symptomatic of the new enlightenment. It is a well-documented, well-informed treatment of the subject, and we hope that he will publish his paper in the form of a pamphlet and issue it broadcast for the benefit of all social workers in general and the civic authorities in particular.

CULTURAL FELLOWSHIP IN INDIA—By Atulananda Chakravarty. Published by Thacker Spink & Co. Ltd., Calcutta.

Sreejut Atulananda Chakravarty deserves the thanks of his countrymen for striking a new line of attack on the inter-communal, particularly the Hindu-Moslem, problem which is sitting as a nightmare, as it were, on all questions of their national advance. This politico-religious problem is comparatively recent in origin ; and it has been defying solution with a tenacity which is the despair of us all, and will continue to do so. Mr. Chakravarty rightly asserts, till we cease to seek its remedies entirely and solely on the political plane. "The problem at its bottom is pre-eminently a psychological one. But we know only politics and think in terms of politics. Either we ignore other problems or try to offer political remedies only for them. We are reluctant to give importance to anything that does not take a colour from familiar traditions of statesmanship. Diplomatic speculations alone keep us busy". Political endeavours to bring about rapprochement between the communities, which have been confined to striking bargains through pacts and compromises, have so far failed and are bound to fail unless we are able to bring about a sense of trust among the communities. "Economic adjustments and political compromises will come to have any meaning only when there is the feeling of comradeship. Rights and reservations cannot work well without a preliminary agreement of minds. In all efforts to secure this agreement, it is difficult to exaggerate the virtues of a cultural understanding. Indeed, the best way of helping Hindu-Moslem fellowship is to develop a love of each other's civilization."

Sreejut Chakravarty has ransacked the religious scriptures of the diverse communities of India, particularly Hindus and Mahomedans, in elucidating points of agreement between their basic principles with a view to discovering grounds for mutual understanding and cultural fellowship between the communities. Beside the strictly scriptural lore which predominates his treatment, he has drawn upon history, ethnology and other branches of antiquarian studies for supporting his points of view. He has admirably summed up the results of researches on these subjects. The whole work bears the impress of an earnest determination to arrive at truth. One should not find it difficult to agree with him on the broad and main conclusions of his thesis, although one may not accept his interpretation of scriptural texts or presentation of historical facts as final on each and every item of detail examined by him. The trouble lies, so far as we are able to see, in his eagerness to fall in line with modernity regarding views on the various questions involved in his enquiry and a readiness to dispense with tradition in a way it hardly deserves.

Notes * News * Comments

Bijoya Greetings

We offer our heartiest Bijoya greetings to our Patrons, subscribers and readers.

Bombay Governor and the Landholders

Replying to an address recently presented by the Deccan Sardars and Dumaldars' Sabha, the Governor of Bombay expressed his inability to grant the Sabha's request that all its members be invested with civil and criminal powers as a matter of right as well as unlimited authority in revenue matters.

His Excellency said that civil law was an intricate subject and required special training and aptitude, and therefore, he was unable to accept the Sabha's claim. The wide grant of revenue powers, too, might result in injustice. His Excellency however, assured the Sabha that the case of its individual members, who on inquiry were found capable of exercising such powers, would be sympathetically considered.

Replying to the demand for better representation in the services, the Governor refused to grant the order of any "special favours."

His Excellency also found it impossible to accede to the request to grant the Sardars and Dumaldars special representation by nomination on local boards but thought that the local influence and prestige of the members of their order should not make it difficult for them to secure adequate representation not only on local boards but also in the legislatures.

His Excellency concluded : "It is a general tendency of all extreme modern thought to attack all positions of privilege and even to go further and attack the rights of property as well. Though this tendency has not advanced as far in India as in some countries of the West, it is still not altogether absent and I look to you and your order to play your part in combating this development."

Madras Land Mortgage Banks Conference

Opening the Land Mortgage Banks Conference at Madras, Sir Hopetoun Stokes, Finance Member, Madras Government, stressed his faith in 'the wise and careful extension of facilities for long-term credit as being of all the various measures put forward for the relief of the ryot, the one best calculated to be effective.' He would therefore welcome the growing demand for the establishment of more primary land mortgage

banks, but would sound a note of warning to those associated with banks.

"We have had other schemes formulated with the same general object, ranging from the measures aiming at the restriction of interest or debt conciliation to the drastic and complicated measures for a fundamental revision of the basis of agricultural borrowing in view of the fall in agricultural prices. The trouble about panaceas of this kind is that most of them tend in the long run to diminish a ryot's credit and the value of security he has to offer."

"I am far from suggesting that the existing number of primary land mortgage banks in this presidency, now 66, is adequate or might not safely be enlarged. But I desire in this connexion to sound a note of warning. I need scarcely remind such an audience as this of what has happened in the case of ordinary co-operative credit societies. The initial success of the movement led those interested in it and induced the Co-operative Department itself to launch out a multiplication of societies wherever a demand seemed to exist for them, with the result that more harm than good was done to the real co-operative movement."

"I should not like to have it reported of the land mortgage bank movement that we organized in haste only to liquidate in leisure. The very success at the outset of such a movement is in itself a source of danger."

Sir Hopetoun Stokes was eminently right in holding that everything depended not so much on the existence of the numerous land mortgage banks as on the character and outlook of the men who ran them. If the management of such institutions was conducted with an eye to its success, if considerations of caste or creed or political bias were absent, if personal animosities or faction could be excluded, then he felt no doubt that enormous possibilities for good which the movement possessed would be realized, and in a generation the problem of rural indebtedness would be well on the way to solution.

Agricultural Research Institute

It is understood that the Viceroy will lay the foundation stone on February 19, 1935, of the Agricultural Research Institute which is being shifted from Pusa to a site close to the ridge in New Delhi. This ceremony will synchronise with the meetings of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and the Board of Agriculture so that a number of prominent persons interested in the institute will be present on the occasion.

A Stimulus to Agricultural Improvements

As announced already, the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has instituted a scheme under which gold and silver medals will be awarded for improvements of distinct merit and all-India importance in the science and art of agriculture and animal husbandry. The competition will be in five divisions, viz.—

- (1) Veterinary Scientific instruments and appliances.
- (2) Dairying and care of animals.
- (3) Field implements and appliances.
- (4) Machinery for preparing crops for market, for food or for storage.
- (5) Water lifts.

In order to obtain a suitable design for the medal the Council has decided to offer a cash prize of Rs. 100 for competition for the best design. The medal will be approximately 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. The design should bear as close a relation as possible to the object for which the medals are to be awarded.

Broom Plant to replace Jute ?

The Levant Fair recently held at Bari was of great importance to the textile industry in general, and particularly to the jute industry in that a new raw material was imported which seems likely to make Italy independent of raw jute imports.

A process has been invented by Grandi Ufficiale Giuseppe de Rossi, which permits a fibre to be extracted from the common plant 'broom' which flourishes abundantly in Italy. This fibre is claimed to be in no way inferior to jute. The preparation of 'broom' is carried out by a 'decor-ticating' machine which enables one worker to produce 25 to 30 kg. of finished fibre per day. It is intended to set up the machines which cost less than 200 lire, in the mountainous regions of central and southern Italy where 'broom' grows in profusion. In this manner it is expected materially to diminish unemployment in these districts. According to the reckoning of De Rossi, the yearly production of broom fibre of 80,000 tons could be attained, which would more than suffice to replace the present annual importation into Italy of 50,000 tons of jute.

Sale Societies in Punjab

Co-operative marketing of agricultural produce is in the Punjab as elsewhere still in its initial stages, yet the way that Province has been forging ahead in this particular line of activity can hardly fail to give satisfaction. The Punjab has found a useful form of sale societies in her commission shops which arrange for the purchase and sale of seed and the sale of their members' produce on commission basis. They work besides as seed agents for the Department of Agriculture. In the event of the price of a commodity being low, the members concerned can store their produce in the shop and obtain an advance on it equal to 75 per cent of the value of their produce.

There were, at the end of the year 1932-33, 23 shops which had a working capital of Rs. 6,41,474 and sold Rs. 16 lakhs worth of members' produce at a commission ranging between 12 to 8 per cent. Of these the Okara Sale Society had the largest amount of business to its credit. It caters for the more substantial farmers and is an example of what efficient management can achieve. It sold 2,74,120 maunds of members' produce valued at Rs. 11,78,274 during the last year, made purchases for them to the extent of Rs. 37,629. We hope its example will not be lost on smaller and less fortunate societies and the latter will spare no pains to discover the secret of its success. Co-operative undertakings must depend for their success on the honesty and loyalty of their members, and like any other undertaking, on their being run on strictly business principles. This should never be lost sight of by the organisers of new societies or those that are in charge of societies dragging on an indifferent or precarious existence.

The Punjab Medical Relief

The report on the working of hospitals and dispensaries in the Punjab for the last year contains a few interesting references. A new experiment, designed in the interests of economy, under which certain of the less important rural dispensaries are to be transferred to the charge of private practitioners, was tried in two dispensaries in the Attock district.

This experiment is a move, so far as we can see, in the right direction. It will ensure economy, encourage private practitioners, and will lead to an increase in the number of dispensaries in rural areas without involving great financial risks or loss of efficiency. We hope the experiment will not suffer shipwreck for want of proper support on the part of the Government or for dearth of capable and self-sacrificing men ready to run these dispensaries on the highest ideals of service.

The location of qualified '*Dais*' in selected hospitals, by which the Government are attempting to raise the standard of midwifery in the Province is another good feature stressed in the report. Much valuable work is also being done, under the auspices of the Public Health Department and the Provincial Red Cross Society in the training of indigenous *Dais*. The establishment of a separate medical school for women at Lahore is another project which is under contemplation. The five leper homes located in the province, all controlled by private societies but financed to a large extent by the Government, have all been performing invaluable function.

Indian Peasants' Problems

Mr. M. L. Darling, I.C.S., Officer on special duty to organize the rural credit branch of the Reserve Bank in an informal talk to the members of the Agricultural Association, suggested three remedies to improve the economic condition of Indian agriculturists.

The economic depression, he said, had called forth three types of adjustments concerning the Indian peasants. The governments of several provinces had sanctioned remissions in land revenue and water rates—in the Punjab they amounted to nearly three crores, a general postponement of the repayment of debts had been made and the cultivator had to adjust standard of living.

Describing the lot of the peasant, Mr. Darling said that the Indian peasant was suffering from a severe restriction in his credit and, though he had probably enough to eat, there was little variety and nourishment in his food due to the fact that he was obliged to sell more milk, *ghee* and *gur* to meet his obligations.

The restriction in credit might be a blessing in disguise because the prosperity that followed high prices led to a great abuse of credit and increase of debt.

Various measures had been taken to improve the lot of the peasant. He instanced the work of debt conciliation courts in the Central Provinces

in this connexion ; but such measures were mere palliatives and attempts to control the money lender, however, attractive in theory, had failed in practice.

Mr. Darling suggested three remedies : a simple form of primary education suited to the needs of the peasant, the strengthening of the co-operative system with special emphasis on land mortgage banks and the consolidation of holdings where they were badly scattered. In this connexion he drew attention to the admirable work done in the Punjab and Central Provinces.

Patna Sugar Conference

The discussions held at the last Sugar Conference at Patna mainly turned on the draft rules prepared by Government in their attempt to give effect to the provisions of the Indian Sugarcane Act. It is understood that no agreement could be reached between the representatives of the growers and those of the mills on the question of the minimum price. The former are stated to have stood out for a minimum price of six annas while the latter offered between three to four annas and a half. The Government are believed to be in favour of five annas for canes intended for the mills and three annas for factories worked by open pan system. They would have the fixed prices to be in force until December, 1934, after which they will be liable to be increased or decreased according to variation in price of sugar in accordance with a fixed scale. It appears that the basic rate of sugar on which this price is fixed has been taken to be rupees eight and annas eight per maund.

Elaborate arrangements were disclosed in the draft rules for the detection and prevention of fraudulent and short practice at the weigh-bridge and selling booths. They provide for the putting up of notices at each weigh-bridge or purchasing centre showing the rate at which cane is being purchased and the minimum price fixed by the Government. The rules further provide for the establishment of Advisory Committees in respect of any controlled area or groups of controlled areas with equal representation of cane-growers and factories with an outsider as chairman. Among other things it shall be the duty of the Advisory Committee to investigate ways and means of maintaining healthy relations between the growers and the factories, to help in regulating purchase and sale of sugarcane and to generally advise Government in regard to the enforcement of the Sugarcane Act.

Provision has been made for inspection off and on of weigh bridges, registers etc., in factories and selling centres for the licensing of managers and purchasing agents. The latter will be granted license on deposit of cash security of one thousand rupees for due performance of the conditions of the license. Breach of the above rules will be penalised by fines extending to rupees one thousand.

The local Government will consider its draft rules in the light of the discussions at the Conference and finally publish rules under the Act.

The proposed Indian Sugar Marketing Board is expected to function with effect from January next.

Financial Aid to U. P. Industries

The U. P. Government has appointed a committee of banking and commercial experts with Sir Sorabji Pochkhanawala, Managing Director of the Central Bank as President, to examine questions of financial aid to industries and consider *inter alia* the recommendations of the Industries Reorganization Committee on the subject.

Jute Restriction Scheme

At a Conference invited by the Press Officer, Government of Bengal, representatives of newspapers met at Writer's Buildings early in October to discuss Government's scheme for restriction of Jute cultivation. Everybody felt the necessity for a scheme of reduction, but it was upon the question whether compulsory or voluntary measures were to be adopted for the purpose that there was any controversy. The Rural Development Commissioner was of opinion that so far as the crop of 1935 was concerned no compulsory scheme involving the distribution of penalties for non-compliance could be undertaken unless the Government were in possession of absolutely accurate statistics of the area under Jute in some particular year. And these statistics do not at present exist.

Various alternative schemes were then suggested which on examination were found either to be impracticable under existing conditions or too expensive to be tried such as (a) restriction through destruction of seeds, (b) restriction by granting compensation for areas not grown with Jute, (c) restriction through establishment of a permanent organization to control production, (d) purchase of surplus stocks by Government, (e) fixation of minimum price by Government.

It was stressed that no scheme could be considered for the year 1935 in which it would be necessary to lay down a quota for individual cultivators or dispense rewards and inflict penalties since statistics of actual cultivation are not available of such accuracy that any government would be justified in using them for these purposes.

The Government scheme which consists mainly in carrying on a vigorous propaganda for voluntary restriction of Jute cultivation and extended cultivation of rabi crops was then elaborately explained by the Rural Development Commissioner. The crops which are considered most likely to give remunerative results and which can be grown in areas released from Jute are *aus* paddy, groundnut, tobacco, linseed, garlic, onions, English vegetables, potatoes and sugarcane.

The Rural Development Commissioner also mentioned that there was great scope for the growth of fodder crops which would give a return to the cultivator in dairy produce and in the improved quality of his draught animals.

He referred in this connection to the contemplation of the Government to participate in an all-India marketing scheme one of the objects of which was to improve the marketing of agricultural products in the interests of agriculturists. Reference was made to the scheme which is under the consideration of the Co-operative Department to enable cultivators to hold back jute stocks until the prices were satisfactory.

A sum of Rupees fifty thousand has been set apart for the purpose of propaganda.

Sir Malcolm Hailey Entertained

A well-attended garden party was given by the Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagram to His Excellency the Governor Sir Malcolm Hailey during his recent visit to Benares. Among those present were the Maharaja of Benares, Sir Edward Blunt, Kunwar Jagdish Pershad, Nawab Sir Muhammed Yusuf, Raja Bahadur of Kasimanda, Mr. and Mrs. Dible and Kunwar and Kunwar Rami Jasbir Singh.

Bengal Government's Unemployment Relief Scheme.

The Department of Industries had for a considerable time been studying the economics of a number of industries, and what is more, evolving and standardising new processes of manufacture in various small industries with a view to reduce the cost of production and bring the price of the articles produced within the reduced purchasing power of the people.

It was recognised that there was a potential demand for educated middle class youths in the small industries of the province. For, these small industries which already employ a large number of workers than all the organized industries put together have scope for further expansion. Common needs of the people and their products have more or less an assured market. Because of their local situation and of their being *Swadeshi* in the truest sense of the word, and having traditional associations with the economic life of the people, they enjoy a certain amount of preference or protection. These industries can easily absorb a large number of young men if properly trained and thus solve the problem of middle class unemployment to some extent.

The Department of Industries has arranged to enlist several batches of students for giving them free training in Brass and Bell metal industry, in the manufacture of Bar and Moulded Soaps as a small industry, in the art of umbrella making (including bending and marking of umbrella handles and assembling and fitting of complete umbrellas), and in glazed pottery ware manufacture. It is believed that this will relieve middle class unemployment in Bengal to some extent and give at the same time a filip to small or cottage industries.

A Garden Party

Rai Bahadur Vikramjit Singh gave a party at Cawnpore recently in honour of Mr. H. S. Stephenson, I. C. S., on the occasion of his transfer to the Government of India.

Goshala Society

The Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga has given Rs. 10,000 to the building fund of the Darbhanga Goshala Society in appreciation of the useful work done by the society.

The society has decided to devote this sum to the erection of a *dhenumandir* (sanctuary for cows) on modern lines to which a dairy department will be attached.

A Notable Gift

Mrs. Kameshwari Saha, widow of the late Babu Bhavani Saha, of Ramgati Islands, has made a donation of Rs. 10,000 towards the funds of

the newly started High English School there on condition that it should be named after her husband and her husband's brother, Bani Saha as the Bani Bhavani H. E. School. The School Committee have accepted the offer. It is understood that she has promised a further donation of Rs. 5,000.

OBITUARY

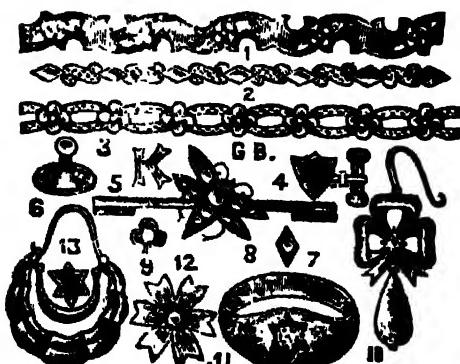
The Pataitin Sahiba of Seraikela, aunt of the Ruling Chief of the State and sister-in-law of the Maharaja of Chota-Nagpur, recently died at Ranchi. The body was taken to Benares for cremation.

A life-long fighter in the cause of his motherland, and the uncrowned king of Midnapur, passed away in the death of Birendra Nath Sasmal. He was taken away at the hour of his triumph for it was only the other day that he was returned by an overwhelming majority to the Legislative Assembly in a triangular contest. He had a distinguished career at the bar and he was held in the highest esteem by his countrymen for his character and courage of conviction. His services in connection with the Midnapur floods and his violent diatribe against terroristic methods will ever be gratefully remembered by his countrymen and Government. He was fifty-four at the time of his death. May his soul rest in peace !

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EDITOR'S NOTICE.

The "Landholders' Journal" is, as its title indicates, the accredited organ of the landholding community of India. It has come into existence to promote the interests—political, social and economic, of the landholding classes, and must necessarily depend for its success on the active co-operation and assistance of the community which it serves.

The policy of the Journal is progressive and dictated by one ideal—progress of the country as a whole along constitutional lines and without impairment of the basic rights of the zemindar community closely allied as they are with those of their tenants.

The Editor cordially invites articles and contributions on problems of interest to the country in general and to the landholding community in particular, items of personal and district news, reports of political and social events, autobiographical and biographical sketches with photographs of prominent members of the landholding community and photographs of general topical interest.



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Acceptance or Rejection?

THE Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report, since its publication some weeks ago, has been as was anticipated, the subject-matter of animated discussions and debates in the press and on the platform both in India and England. It has evoked bitter and hostile criticism from individuals, parties and organisations whose opinions must be reconciled if the reforms are to work satisfactorily and smoothly.

On the other hand, the Reform scheme has undeniably found supporters but their number is very small in comparison with that of the critics. Any one who has dispassionately followed the detailed examination of the provisions of the Report on the floor of the British House of Commons and of the Indian Councils as well as in the columns of English and Indian Press, must have been struck with the volume of arguments propounded both in support of or in opposition to the proposals of the Committee. But if he is possessed of an iota of intelligence and common sense it will be clear to him that the mass of arguments and pleadings, however plausible and irrefutable they might seem, advanced in support of the Report does not hide the lurking suspicion of delinquency on the part of Indians which characterises the entire Report—a suspicion which finds expression in safeguards and special responsibilities of Governors Governor-General.

"History", says the historian Mommsen in a pregnant sentence, "has a Nemesis for every sin—for an impotent craving after freedom, as well as for an injudicious generosity!" If the British Government are convinced that India is not yet fit to shoulder the responsibilities of self-government they ought to say so in the clearest terms. India would then know where she stands. But to grant her a measure of self-government while making it unworkable with numerous limitations merely to pander to

India's national craving would prove a blessing neither to the giver nor to the receiver.

We fully realise that no constitution in a country whether framed by *national* leaders or by *alien* rulers can give universal satisfaction. We admit that the task of framing a constitution for a sub-continent like India is of herculean proportions and presents difficulties of an unimaginable character. But we refuse to believe that British statesmanship—a statesmanship which has weathered in its long and chequered career many a storm and has solved innumerable national and international problems calling for rare wisdom, foresight and determination, is on the verge of bankruptcy. The British, more than anybody else, know that no government, however strong, can permanently be run on the foundation of force. It must ultimately depend for its success and inspiration upon the loyalty and co-operation of the people for whom the government is designed.

If the British politicians are sincerely desirous of recognising India's claim and conceding it, let the gift be made cheerfully and not as though it were being extorted from them. Surely they must realise that the goodwill and spontaneous co-operation of India are of far more value to them than an India whose co-operation does not spring from affection. The reforms are still on the anvil; there is still time so to shape them as to hearten the people of this vast sub-continent.

The Indian politician also must exercise the greatest wisdom and prudence at this critical hour. To magnify the shortcomings and inherent weaknesses of the Report and put them up to ridicule with a view to obscuring the main issues and securing its rejection would be as dangerous and prejudicial to the best interests of India as would be a frantic attempt to ignore completely the weight and volume of Indian criticism, individual and collective, and rush through the Indian Constitution Act on the basis of the Report, to the interests of Britain.

Extremes must be avoided. Wholesale rejection or acceptance *in toto* of the provisions of the Committee can but lead to one and the same result, viz., alienation, sooner or later, of India from England—a step which the best brains and patriots in both countries are eager to avoid. The Report is the result of the energy and labour, leave alone huge financial outlay, bestowed on the study of and deliberations on the vital problems of India by Indians and Europeans, whose intimate knowledge of the conditions in India cannot be questioned. If there are provisions in the Report which apparently do not constitute any advance but seem to be retrograde in character, the remedy lies not in rejecting the Report as a whole, but in exerting every possible effort to secure the desired modifications.

We must be prepared to work the reforms and strive incessantly to remedy the defects. 'Accept what is given and fight for more, was the acknowledged policy of the late Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak. And India can do no better than follow his advice in this momentous stage in her history.

The British people with their past traditions of gradual development of their constitutional rights, however well-meaning and sincere they may be, can never be expected to make a sudden departure from their well-tested policy and bestow full constitutional rights all at once. All their suspicions and fears with their necessary corollaries, namely, the safeguards and special responsibilities are those of a hesitant and conservative people and not of a people unwilling to recognise the national aspirations of Indians. Allay their fears by working the reforms and they will not be slow in recognising your claims.



All-Bengal Landholders' Conference

The British Indian Association must be congratulated upon the inauguration of an annual conference of landholders of the province. The utility of such conferences cannot be exaggerated. In the first place, it affords the landholding community an excellent opportunity to discuss, and make their contribution to the solution, of the various economic and political problems affecting the province generally and the community in particular. To be able to compare notes even once a year makes for the elucidation of many points which may prove too complex for the individual landholders, and engenders a feeling of solidarity among the community by removing differences and misunderstandings. Not the least of the benefits that accrue from these discussions is that they focus attention of the Government and the country upon the considered and collective views, needs and problems of the community. In fact, we are so deeply impressed with the value of these periodical deliberations as a factor in the reorganisation on a strong basis of the landed interests that we make bold to suggest that these conferences ought to be held oftener.

The outlook before the country demands that zamindars everywhere shall more and more prove themselves not in name only but in fact the real leaders of the people. And what better way of achieving this than by establishing their identity with their tenants? We look upon these conferences as a prelude to the far more important conferences that must be held, and held fairly frequently, between zamindars and their tenants to acquaint each other with their problems. Much good will flow from such joint deliberations of zamindars and tenants as were recently held at Hooghly and from the formation of such organizations as, say, the Bihar United Party, or the U. P. National Agriculturists' Party.

The Second Session of the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference, full reports of the proceedings of which will appear in the next issue of this journal, has just been held in Calcutta under the presidentship of the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Darbhanga. The position of landholders *vis-a-vis* the Congress and the Government was clearly and succinctly set forth in the presidential speech. Mr. P. N. Tagore, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates made an admirable contribution to the clarification of the numerous issues involved in the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, particularly those concerning landholders. It was refreshing to observe the zest with which the Maharaja of Kassimbazar, the Raja Bahadur of Nashipur, Raja Sitanath Roy, Kumar H. K. Mitter, Kumar Sarat Kumar Mitter, Kumar T. C. Goswami, Rai Bahadur Keshab Chunder Banerjee, Mr. S. C. Roy Choudhuri, M. L. C.,

Mr. Amulyadhan Auddy, Mr. Kanai Lal Goswami, and Mr. Amarnath Mukherjee and others entered into the discussions. Of particular interest was, naturally, the discussion on the Joint Parliamentary Committee's report. The next in importance was undoubtedly a resolution relating to the Permanent Settlement which demanded that the settlement should be placed beyond the competency of future legislatures. Kumar T. C. Goswami considered this demand as somewhat unreasonable. The Hon'ble Sir B. L. Mitter, a member of the Governor's Executive Council, took a similar view and incidentally thrust some home truths upon the assembly and it would behove the community to hearken well unto his words. Security cannot come from the enjoyment of special privileges, special protection, etc.; it must come from strength within.

Sir B. L. Mitter, while offering his services to the community, exhorted zamindars not to rest on their lees but to understand and strive to find solution for their problems. They must, he said, marshal public opinion in their favour. They must organise and conduct propaganda.

We apologize for touching a personal note but we cannot refrain from remarking that Sir B. L. Mitter's exhortation heartens us. We have, ever since this journal came into being, stressed the vital necessity for propaganda, and without receiving anything like substantial co-operation or encouragement, have been endeavouring to pursue the line now chalked out by Sir B. L. Mitter. A vast amount of work has yet to be done but it can only be done if the zamindars follow the advice of the Hon'ble Member. Our services have been and will always continue to be at the disposal of the community to whose interests this journal is devoted.

But we would not usurp more than our share of credit. To Mr. Sachin Sen, M.A., B.L., the able author of a number of works (e.g. "The Permanent Settlement of Bengal") on land and zamindar-ryot problems is due high encomium for his effective but unostentatious work on behalf of zamindars.

Agricultural Rent in Bengal *

BY SACHIN SEN, M.A., B.L.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPT OF RENT

1. What is rent? Rent is the consideration paid for the hire of land. In other words, rent "expresses the amount of money paid for the hiring of various properties connected with land".

2. A tenant hiring a farm is not a man hiring a house; he is like a man purchasing a business on an annual payment of rent. Therefore, in the fixation of rent, many considerations are present before a tenant: he is to reckon up the cost of cultivation, estimate the amount of produce and the price which it will fetch on sale, ascertain the quantity of profit, then he is to calculate within himself how much of the profit he can consent to surrender to the landlord of whom he borrows. The fixation of rent is a complex problem in as much as the calculations by the tenants of all the above factors are subject to inexactitude and uncertainty because of the very nature of agriculture. In a manufacturing business, the cost of production, the expenses of raw materials, the charges it has to sustain, the general price of goods produced and the rate of profit are much the same in the same town and often in the same districts. The calculation of profit may be made with more certainty. But in agriculture the unit is not the district, nor even the estate, but the individual farm. Every farm has special characteristics which exercise mighty influence on the cost of production, the amount of produce and the prices it will fetch, and the profit which will be realised. The variations in fertility, nearness to stations and high roads, distance from manures that have to be derived tithes and local rates, accessibility of markets, wages, loaning operations, all these have visible effects on profits. Thus the farm hired is a separate business by itself which brings forward points peculiar to itself. Its profits, and consequently its rent, must be individually estimated.

3. Rent thus may be called a part of profit; a tenant first considers the produce, then the cost of cultivation, then the profit after the deduction of the interest on the capital invested in the business. The tenant before hiring a farm must feel that he will have sufficient profit and he would then agree to slice away a portion thereof as a rent. The question that if rent is to be a larger or smaller part of profit is a different one but the fact remains that it is a part of it. Unless there is the possibility of profit, a tenant would refuse to hire a farm. So it can

* A paper read by Mr. Sachin Sen, M.A., B.L., at a meeting of the Indian Institute of Economics which was held on the 8th November, 1934

be said that in the case of rent, a tenant wields a great force. But the strength of the landlords lies in the fact that there is competition for lands which presupposes that the farm hired would give sufficient reward for the tenant's venture. The landlord and tenants may be called partners in a common business—they divide between them a common profit: "each earns more by performing his own part of the business well".

4. As profit varies from land to land, so should rent. There is no science which can determine a natural, definite and ascertainable quantity to be demanded as a rent. Scientific determination of rent is a risky affair and dubious solution. Science in forecasting the price of a thing, one year two years or very many years hence, takes an uncertain jump. Ricardo made the degree of fertility possessed by soil the scientific regulator of rent. But it is realistic economics that a fertile land may fetch shabby rent if there are high wages, bad transport, greater distance from manures, thin population etc., which are economically deterrent factors. Political economy cannot determine rent—it can only analyse the conditions and enumerate the forces tending to the determination of the rent. It is competition which determines the right amount of rent. If rent be insufficient, landlord refuses; if rent be higher, farmer refuses. Competition brings about the real state. It is also to be noted that custom has a share with competition in fixing rent.

5. Ownership is the cause of rent and possession is the effect of it. Rent is reached by bargaining between the landlord and the tenant. It is extremely difficult for an economist to tell what is fair rent or low rent: it is to be determined by the bargainers on the spot. Economists are to explain the methods: conclusions are to be arrived at by individual bargainers. Over and above competition and custom, there is the sense of value wielding a great force in the economical life of men. A land gathers higher rent if it is beautifully situate, freshened by healthy breeze, surrounded by pleasant atmosphere, inhabited by good neighbours, tenanted by the same family for generations, located in calm areas secured against invasion of mills and chimneys, dotted with historical associations etc. To suppose money as the sole factor in buying and selling is to make Political Economy untrue to human nature.

6. The so-called theory of agricultural rent is that the "rent of the farm is the difference between the value of its produce of a farm of equal extent which is only just able to pay the expense of cultivation or in other words, which consists of land of the lowest degree of fertility which has to be cultivated to supply the wants of the community". If we take that the rent of any particular piece of land is measured by the excess of the value of its produce over that of the produce of an equal area of land of the lowest degree of fertility, it follows that the rent of land depends not only on its own intrinsic fertility but also on the fertility of other lands. This serves to give the rent a fluctuating character. The land which serves as the basis of comparison may alter materially from time

to time; profit is dependent on many circumstances. Any circumstance affecting the profit affects the rent.

RISE OF RENT

7. The rise of rent is possible if there is

(a) the increase of population,

(b) the agricultural progress tending to diminish the cost of production or improve communications or any thing which may agriculture remunerative,

(c) increase in the prices,

8. The lowering of rent is possible if there is

(a) The cultivation of other new lands having equal or superior advantages for bringing the crop to the market,

(b) the increase of importation of food at a greater proportionate rate than the increase of population,

(c) the deterioration of the output of land beyond the farmer's necessary share,

(d) the increase of manufacturing industry making agricultural vocation unremunerative and unseductive.

In the last case, the loss of agricultural rent will be more than repaid by the ground rent paid for building leases.

9. The question that now comes to the fore:

After improvements made by the tenants on the land, why should not rent increase? If the conservative view is taken, it may be urged that when a tenant makes improvement operations on the land, he does so not exclusively out of his own capital but out of the co-operation of his own capital with the capital of landlords. The tenant has hired the land only, he had not enough capital to purchase it. It is the purchase which gives exclusive possession and it is this possession in which the ownership of land consists. Unless there is exclusive possession, the inherent qualities of the land and the situational advantages of the farm belong to the landowner. Phosphoric acid, potash, lime, magnesia, sulphuric acid, nitric acid—these important constituents for the food of plants—all these energies, actual and potential, which the land possesses are of course let out to the farmer but they in fact belong to the landlord. The conservative school accordingly maintains that agricultural improvement by the tenant consists of two factors—firstly, the tenant's outlay and skill, secondly, the inherent qualities of the soil which belong to the landlord. This school as a logical corollary concedes the right of the tenant to receive repayment for his outlay in improvements with interests; the right of the tenant to be paid full value of his improvements is ruled out. "Under the strictest investigation and under the most accurate scientific valuation, the elements in all farming enterprise which belong to the owner and which the owner of land lends to a farmer are beyond all comparison greater in value than the elements

which the farmer himself supplies in the conduct of his enterprise". The Liberal school maintains that the hirer of land like the borrower of the money uses the commodity at his own risk and has to bear any loss which his mistakes or misfortunes may cause. And as such he should be entitled to the whole profit. Every improver must have full fruits of enterprise, expenditure and skill. *

10. With these introductory remarks I would try to give here an account, historical and analytical, of the question of agricultural rent in Bengal—a subject which is of immense importance to the understanding of the land problems of Bengal.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN RENT AND REVENUE

11. The word "rent" has by now acquired a distinctive meaning. Even upto the early British rule, there was no distinction made between rent and revenue. The rent in English language is in reality an annuity with a charge on the land demised, because the tenures held at fixed rent and in perpetuity are really alienations and the alienees and all persons holding through them pay a fixed sum in perpetuity called rent, to the alienors and those claiming under them.

12. In enacting the Regulations of 1793, there was a distinction made between revenue and rent, revenue being used to mean the sum paid by superior landowners to the State and rent the sum payable to the superior landowners by those who hold under them. The Bengal Tenancy Act 1885 defines rent as "whatever is lawfully payable or deliverable in money or kind by a tenant to his landlord on account of the use or occupation of the land, held by the tenant" †

13. The distinctive use of revenue and rent in the manner as indicated implies a change of ideas "as to the legal effect of the transfer of property in the soil by means of grants in perpetuity". This change of meaning leaves the zemindars paying revenue in the position of proprietors and the tenants paying rent distinctly in a subordinate position. It is an unconscious but complete recognition of the proprietorship of zamindars, a recognition legally established by the Regulations of 1793. The Hindu theory was that the actual occupier was the master of the soil; the Moghul theory advocated proprietorship in sovereigns in scorn of the actual occupier; the early British theory applicable in India was that the proprietorship was vested in the state but it could be transferred for a sum as land tax; but the modern Legislation made the rent-receivers

* In Adams V Dunneath, the Irish Court of Appeal held the view, advocated by the Duke of Argyll that in agricultural improvements, the two factors viz., the tenant's outlay and skill, and the inherent qualities of the soil which belong to the landlord should be taken into account and accordingly in fixing a fair rent, the tenant may be rented on a portion of his improvements.

† Under the Act Government is a landlord with respect to Khas mahals, and the amount payable to the State by a tenant with respect to Khas Mahals is therefore rent; if instead of fixed sum, a fixed amount of corn or any other product be supplied yearly for the use of land, that is

owners of land and the rent-payers, though in occupation and incapable of being ejected, pay rent not revenue for the use and occupation only of the land, a conception absolutely modern, accentuating and clarifying the relative position of the two partners.

14. The B. T. Act of 1885 has now made rent the first charge : under the Mahammedan law, the rent, rather the amount payable for the land was not a charge but "personal obligation in the tenure-holders". The Rent Act of 1859 did not also make rent a charge on the tenure. Now, revenue and rent are no longer twin words : they are now distinct connoting distinctive rights and obligations of their own.

GROWTH OF RENT-CONCEPT IN BENGAL

15. The evolution of the conception of rent in Bengal is immensely interesting. Three contending forces such as custom, competition and legislation, have brought rent to the present state. The King's share during the Hindu period had not the characteristics of rent, if modern notions thereof are to be taken into consideration. In the King's share, firstly, there was no element of contract, which is essential for Western conception of rent, because the proportion of produce to be delivered by the cultivator was determined arbitrarily by the Sovereign ; secondly, the Sovereign during that period did not lay any claim to property in land and "the grain payments answered to the description of a tax, rather than to that of rent".

16. In view of this interpretation, the germ of rent could be said to have existed in the Hindu village communities of the landlord type which became extant in Bengal where the cultivators paid over and above the King's share an additional share to the proprietary body. This additional share paid in kind, and the amount of which was regulated by custom, may be called rent. The arbitrariness in the determination of the amount of share was not there, as custom, grounded on considerations for the tenant's caste, the quality of the soil, the proximity to marts etc, attempted to do justice to the cultivators. In this connection it must be pointed out that though the cultivators had to pay over and above the King's share a certain proportion to an intermediate interest, still there was no severity in that customary rent. That was a period when rack-renting was not possible because the raiyats had to be fostered and coaxed for the use and occupation of land. That was a period when there was competition for land and many culturable lands remained waste. That was also a period when there was no need for taking to the worst lands and to the improved means of agriculture. At such a period the question of rack-renting and oppressing the raiyats could not arise as they, at the first speck of oppression, could remove to other culturable land : there were more lands and less tillers. That was a golden age for the raiyats and that was the reason that the Khudkast (resident raiyats, as opposed to the Paikast or non-resident raiyats) acquired rights which could hardly be distinguished from the proprietary rights.

17. During the Mahammedan period, the growth of rent found a set-back. The Mahammedan rulers were not in favour of middlemen standing between the Sovereign and cultivators. Even if there was an intermediary, he used to collect revenue on behalf of the Sovereign and he had not the status of a landlord. Therefore, whatever dues he might have intercepted, that has not the character of rent, rather that was his fee for collection. In spite of this of course there were landlords existing here and there but those were cases of usurpation and as such it may be said that rent in the proper sense of the term found no room in the revenue system of the Mahammedan period. But with the decline of the Moghul power, the system of farming out the revenue came into vogue. Thus intermediaries grew in abundance and in the absence of strong central power they came to collect illegal cesses over and above the fixed rate of rent. Rent was so overlaid with illegal cesses that the rights of the cultivators were rendered nugatory.

18. During the period of Company management, competition began to influence rent in Bengal. After the great famine of 1769-70, it was felt urgently necessary that the waste lands should be cultivated but there was dearth of peasants, as they were greatly decimated by the famine. The Government forced the zemindars to "court" the peasants to undertake cultivation of waste lands. And in this matter of settling ryots on waste and uncultivated lands, the zemindars could not afford to be whimsical, as it is said, that "the resident cultivators had only to migrate a few miles to get land at low rates of rent". Thus the cultivators could give their own terms and the zemindars had to accept the terms even if they were lower than customary rent. For the first time, the law of demand and supply came to be a factor in the settlement of rent. During this time, a class of ryots, known as vagrant ryots, grew up—they hold at lower rent. They settle with one zemindar for one season; if zemindar tries to increase rent, they migrate to a different place and settle with another zemindar on a lower rent than the customary one. These vagrant tenants reduced the customary rent and the law of supply and demand worked with vengeance on the zemindars. Let it be noted in this connection that the Company did not disturb the system of zemindars which flourished with the decline of the Moghul power. The exactions of zemindars subsided with the Company management and rent instead of going up beyond the level of economic rent settled down to the customary rate, to the competitive rate.

19. During the later British period from 1859, there is the reign of law. Rent was settled by the Legislatures on customary rate and the chances of enhancement were gradually reduced to nill. Series of legislations brought about this conception of rent, regulated by custom.

20. In this connection, it would be worthwhile to mention that though the population has increased during the British rule and unculturable waste lands have been brought under cultivation, there is a keen demand

for lands, and the need for improved means of agriculture is being felt to raise sufficient food for the people—this is a situation wholly different from what prevailed during the Hindu period when Khudkast raiyats acquired valuable rights and paid legitimate rents. But it would be interesting to note that even in the situation, noted above, the rent is extremely low, the grounds of enhancement are fair and the occupancy raiyats have also acquired valuable rights. If the situation were left to the play of economic forces and there were no interfering legislations, it may be said that the rents would have jumped up, the grounds of enhancement would be less stiff and the occupancy raiyats would have acquired less valuable rights. The competition for lands in Bengal is very keen firstly they are fertile, and secondly there is a vast population. The keenness of competition is evident from the prices offered for the lands. The present depression with consequential fall in the prices of lands should not be confounded with misunderstanding the economic forces.

PROTECTION OF RAIYATS IN THE MATTER OF RENT

21. To understand the implications of agricultural rent in Bengal, we must first of all disabuse our minds of the wrong impression that the raiyats are suffering in the matter of rent at the hands of the landlords from early British rule. Since the Company took the entire care and management of the revenues as the Dewan, there were serious attempts for the protection of the raiyats. When the revenue was farmed for five years in 1772, the farmer was prohibited from receiving larger rent from the raiyats than the amount stipulated for in the pottahs ; abwabs and cesses were prohibited : nuzzurs and salamees were abolished ; usurious lending to the raiyats was directed to be stopped. It does not mean that the Company's efforts towards the welfare of the raiyats were crowned with much success, but efforts, genuine, were there.

22. The Decennial Settlement is the first serious bold attempt for the protection of the revenues and the raiyats. Before that, there were quinquennial and annual settlements—all for the protection of revenues and raiyats. Because in every settlement the Company has ensured its position in the matter of revenue and curbed the powers of zemindars. In Mahammedan times, the rulers entered into agreement with the zemindars without reference to the raiyats : they only thought of their revenues and there the zemindars showed some eagerness for agreements as they in their turn could be free to exact beyond the asul. But the Company were particular in seeing to the welfare of raiyats and augmentation of revenues and as such the zemindars had no interest in settlements rather settlements were thrust on them.

23. The Decennial Settlement was not silent after striking out an arrangement in the matter of revenue (an ensured supply of which was political necessity with the Company's Administration); it went to the

length of providing that the zemindars assessed by Government would equally and impartially distribute the total assessment on all the lands, contained in their zemindaries "according to the rent received from them and to render a full record of such distribution". If any village is omitted, the Government seize on it; if wilful partiality is proved, the landholder would be fined. It was clearly provided that the zemindars in every engagement with the under-renters must be specific as to the amount of rent and condition of it and "all sums received beyond the amount specified are to be repaid with a penalty of double the amount". The following restrictions prescribed by the Decennial Settlement were all for the protection of the raiyat in the matter of rent :—

- (1) No person contracting a zemindar shall be authorised to take charge thereof without an amalnama, or written commission signed by the zemindar,
- (2) the landholders are to revise the abwabs in concert with the raiyats, and to consolidate them with the asul,
- (3) no new abwab or mathoot is to be imposed under penalty of three times the amount,
- (4) the rents shall be specifically stated in the pottah,
- (5) every zemindar shall prepare a suitable form of pottah and submit it to the Collector, who after approval thereof shall notify to the raiyats that such pottahs may be obtained and no other form of pottah shall be allowed,
- (6) a raiyat whose rent has been ascertained and settled is entitled to a pottah, and if refused, the landholder will be fined;
- (7) existing leases are to hold good unless granted by collusion or without authority,
- (8) no landholders or farmers shall cancel the pottahs of the Khud-khast raiyats except on proof of being obtained by collusion, or that the rents of the last three years were below the rates of the purgunnah nirikbundi,
- (9) a patwari shall be established for every village by the proprietor under penalty of fine; the patwari is to record the accounts of the raiyats,
- (10) receipts for rents are to be given to the raiyats under penalty of double the amount,
- (11) if any village or district should be affected by inundation or other calamity, causing raiyats to desert, the rents of the absconding raiyats shall not be demanded from those remainings,
- (12) the landholders and renters are to adjust the instalments of rents payable, according to the time of reaping and selling the produce, and Collectors are to enforce this provision—(Phillips'

Tagore Law Lecture on the "Law of Land Tenures in Lower Bengal").

24. From the Decennial Settlement, it has been the deliberate aim of the Legislature to see that the ryots do not suffer in any way for rent. The protective measures from 1793 to 1889 can be gathered from the following :—

- (1) The Decennial Settlement provided for authorised forms of pottas to the ryots. The rent was settled to be an entire sum consolidating the abwabs lawfully chargeable with the assul, thus blocking the avenues of other exactions and abwabs.
- (2) Under the Permanent Settlement scheme, the landlord shall not cancel the pottahs of Khoodkasts except on proof that they were obtained by collusion, or that their rents for 3 years before the settlement were below the pergunnah nirikbundy, or that they had obtained collusive deductions from their rents, or upon a general measurement of the pergunnah for equalising and correcting the assessment.
- (3) The Permanent Settlement provided that all leases to under farmers and ryots made before the settlement and not contrary to any Regulation, are to remain in force, unless proved to have been obtained by collusion or from unauthorised persons.
- (4) The Permanent Settlement made the following provisions for the ryots : abolition of extra cesses and abwabs ; no power to cancel bona fide pottahs,* fixity of tenure and fixity of rent rates secured. Canoongoes and patwaris to prevent oppression of the persons paying rents ; landlords to specify in writing the rent payable by ryots at pergunnah rate—the dispute, if any, being determined in the Civil Court of the Zilla in which lands were situated.

(To be continued)

* It is maintained that the potta regulations proved inoperative because they were opposed to the interests of both the landlords and ryots. The landlords could nullify the objectives of pottah by inserting therein exorbitant rates. The ryots did not at first appreciate pottahs because they thought that pottahs would not stop the collection of abwab ; secondly, "as a rule they held more lands than they were rated for in the village registers and they shrank from an enquiry into the exact amount ; thirdly, "the acceptance of the 'pottah' meant the perpetuation of the rather fictitious pargana rates which were considerably in excess of the economic rent which the landlords could secure by contract under the then prevailing conditions". Thus it was the cultivators who reluctantly to avail of Pottah regulations.

Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Ph. D., M. A., B. L.

(An Appreciation)

IT is a common belief that intellectual pursuits find the ablest of their votaries in the ranks of the middle and upper middle classes and that the wealthy, landholding and commercial classes, while often affording the most powerful stimulus to the development of art, literature and culture by their valuable patronage, are sadly deficient in direct contribution to the aesthetic wealth of a nation. Be that as it may in other countries, it must be said of Bengal that many of the scions of her noblest families have by their own achievements made the most material contribution to the higher life of the country. In this category we place Dr. Bimala Churn Law, of the famous Law family of Calcutta. Born with a golden spoon in his mouth, with wealth and leisure at his disposal he might easily have indulged in all the luxuries and pleasures that Fate laid at his feet; but he chose the straight and narrow path of toilsome endeavour and, though but a young man, has accomplishments to his credit which make him a notable figure in the literary life of the country.

Dr. Law, who is the youngest son of the late Babu Ambica Churn Law, and the youngest grandson of the late Jay Gobind Law, C. I. E., was born in 1891. Babu Jay Gobind Law was the youngest brother of the late Maharaja Durga Churn Law, C. I. E. Dr. Law received his early education at the Metropolitan Institution (Main) and graduated with honours from the Presidency College, Calcutta. He obtained his M. A. degree in 1915, securing a first class in Pali. He was awarded the gold medal and prize of the Calcutta University, and in recognition of his researches in Ancient Indian History and Culture, received the Ph. D. degree in 1923. He won the Ashutosh Mukherjee gold medal the same year and also won the Griffith Memorial prize. He passed the B. L. Examination in 1919 and was enrolled an advocate of the Calcutta High Court.

After his brilliant University career Dr. Law began to help his late father in the latter's business and other matters. He is now a partner of Messrs. Prawn Kissen Law & Company. Nevertheless he finds time, in fact, makes time to devote himself to the passion of his life, namely, intellectual activities.

He is a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, a corporate member of the American Oriental Society, an honorary correspondent of the Archaeological Survey of India, a life member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and was once a member of the Philological Committee of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, is a fellow of the Royal Historical Society, a life-member of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and a member of the History

Committee of this body, a life member of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat a life member of the Viswabharati, a life member of the Nari Siksha Samity, a trustee of the Vidyasagar Institute, Vice-President of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

Dr. Law is an authority on Buddhism and is a most prolific author, among his best known works being A History of Pali Literature in two-volumes, A Study of the Mahavastu, Supplement to the study of the Mahavastu, Geography of Early Buddhism, Buddhistic Studies, Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India, Ancient Mid-Indian Ksatriya Tribes, Vol I, Ancient Indian Tribes, The Life and Work of Buddhaghosa, Historical-Gleanings, Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, The Buddhist Conception of Spirits, Women in Buddhist Literature, Designation of Human Types, Dathavamsa, (Text and Translation), Cariyapitaka (Text and Translation), Saundarananda Kavya (translated into Bengali with an introduction and notes), Licchavi Jati, Bauddha Ramani, the Law of Gift in British India, Ancient Indian Ksatriya Tribes, Vol. II and Thupavamsa. (P. T. S. Ed.). He is the Editor of Indian Culture, a quarterly Journal and one of the Editors of the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology published by the Keru Institute, Holland.

Some of his works are prescribed as text books for the M.A. degree in Pali and History. That Dr. Law is a scholar of international repute is obvious from the high praise that has been bestowed upon his works by the most eminent litterateurs of the West. It would take vastly more space than can be afforded in a brief sketch of his life and career to quote even a few of the numerous commendations that his works have received from Western scholars but it would not perhaps be out of place to quote only a few of them just in order to give our readers an idea of the very high esteem in which the achievements of one of their own countrymen is held in the West. Of his History of Pali Literature Prof. E. J. Rapsou says :

*Most valuable and interesting history of Pali Literature which I value very highly and which I shall very often consult. * * * The work will take its place as the standard book of reference on its subject.*

Dr. F. O. Schrader says :

This book is sure to be used as the standard work on the subject for many years to come.

Of his "A Study of the Mahavastu" and Supplement to the same, Dr. Hermann Jacobi says :

** * * All students of Buddhism will be glad to use your guide in the bewildering contents of that important text.*

About his "Geography of Early Buddhism", Dr Keith says :

** * * Congratulate you on another example of erudition and sound exposition.*

Dr. M. Winternitz says :

** * * the most useful. It is a welcome contribution to historical geography of ancient India.*

Dr. Law is the owner of extensive properties in Calcutta and a zamindar of Morrelgunje. The Doctor and his brother, Dr. S. C. Law, are the owners of the biggest zamindari in the district of Khulna. A high school has been founded and is being maintained in the zamindari where many poor students receive education. The institution has been named after Dr. Law's father. A charitable dispensary under a qualified physician is also maintained in the zamindari.

But Dr. Law's beneficence is by no means confined to his tenantry alone. His creation of a bed in the Deshbandhu Hospital, the institution of two free-studentships in the Calcutta Medical College and his contribution to the funds of the Calcutta Homœopathic College, his donations to the Viceroy's Earthquake Fund and the Medical College Centenary Fund show at once the remarkably wide range of his humanitarian and charitable activities and conclusively prove that there is hardly any noble cause which fails to evoke sympathy and response from his generous heart.

Himself highly cultured and educated, Dr. Law's interest in the cause of education found a natural expression in helping and endowing with funds institutions devoted to the advancement of learning and culture.

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat have been recipients of liberal donations towards publication of valuable and rare-books, (e. g. Mahabharat, Adiparva, by M. M. Haraprasad Sastri). He has also contributed to the building fund of the Ashutosh College and to the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science. Of special interest is his presentation of rare coins to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat exhibited in the Ramesh Bhaban and of rare images to the Indian Museum. Regarding the latter the Director-General of Archæology in India in a statement to the Press said :

"The Archæological Department is grateful to Dr. Bimala Churn Law of Calcutta, Honorary Correspondent of the Department, who has kindly acquired these images at a cost of Rs. 1,000 and generously presented them to the Archæological Survey for exhibition in the Indian Museum. These images include extremely rare figure of Kama, God of love, a Beautiful figure of Kartikeya on his Peacock, an image of Uma—Mahesvara dancing, Ganesa etc. They are all in excellent state of preservation and make the most valuable addition to the Archæological collections of Indian Museum."

Liberal-minded and unostentatious, Dr. Law is universally loved and respected for his sober habits, amiable manners and catholicity of views. It may truly be said that in Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Bengal, nay India, possesses a son who has shed more lustre on her fair name and glory than falls to the lot of an ordinary mortal. May he live long and may his remarkable and noble example be followed by young members of the leisured classes is our hope and prayer.

Economic Self-sufficiency for India

BY DHARANI MOHAN ROY,
Zamindar, Royail, Dacca.

WHILE proposing to say a few words on the above subject, I am conscious of the limitations which must be attached to the term 'self-sufficiency' in the present state of international relations in which no country can be viewed in perfect isolation from others. I would however emphasise that the doctrine of international division of labour, approved and applauded by the classical economists, has recently received a tremendous set-back, and the countries all over the world have, for strategic and

other reasons, embarked on a policy of economic self-sufficiency in the sense of developing as many industries (including 'key' industries) as possible, which may not be endangered by war or blockade. There are some countries which do not possess any industry or industries worth the name and are wholly agricultural, supplying raw materials to industrially efficient nations; there are again others which are out and out industrial and whose agricultural wealth is insignificant. In both the cases, one is perfectly justified in demanding action for the removal of the respective deficiencies, for industrialisation in the former case and ruralisation in the latter

—to a great length, without even invoking the plea of self-sufficiency. Industries and agriculture must both be developed in the interest of a perfectly balanced civilisation. Every nation must justify itself by economic competence.

Unfortunately India falls under the former category of industrially deficient countries. She has to look up to other countries for the



Babu Dharani Mohan Roy

satisfaction of the amenities of modern life, nay, some of the basic material needs of her people. It was otherwise only a century or two ago. She had then an economic machinery capable of satisfying her needs which admittedly were few and simple; she even supplied luxuries to peoples far and near. She did not neglect then the economic side of life but paid due attention to it even in the midst of her spiritual preoccupations. It is by regeneration in the economic sphere that she can recover her rightful place in the comity of nations.

What then should India do for her economic revival? The answer may be given straight—she must cease to depend solely on agriculture, take to industries and commerce along with agriculture and attain in every one of them a vastly greater degree of efficiency than now. The Sanskrit adage has it:

बाणिज्य वसति लक्ष्मीस्तदृष्टं क्वचिकर्मणः ।
तदृष्टं राजसेवायां भिक्षायां नैव नैव च ॥

[Commerce is the dwelling place of Lakshmi, the Goddess of wealth and prosperity i.e. immense wealth can be earned by commerce. Half of that wealth can be acquired by agriculture and half of that again in State service. But no wealth can be obtained by begging].

In ancient times, when India was an independent country, the economic functions of the nation were entrusted to certain specific sections of its population and this made for considerable efficiency and progress. Commerce and agriculture were in the hands of the Vaishyas and they were experts in commercial knowledge and business as well as in agriculture. They carried on trade or commerce and cultivated lands not only in the interests of their own caste but also of the other castes, viz., the Brahmanas, the Kshatriyas and the Sudras. Each caste had its own duties and was specially proficient in performing them. One caste did not interfere in the duties of another because every caste equally loved its mother country and worked for its welfare. Now-a-days for the sake of *Apad-dharma* (आपद्धर्म) which indicates the duties to be practised in emergencies, the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas, according to the holy Shastras, can follow the occupations of the Vaishyas.

Poverty is admittedly the greatest curse to which humanity is subject and it would appear that a dependent nation must submit to it and be ever deprived of the pleasures and comforts of life which are within the easy reach of independent nations. This assumption is hardly true, for if we look around we come across many independent countries which certainly are not wealthy and are debarred from the enjoyment of the choicest gifts of life. Those of the independent nations that have attained prosperity and opulence have done so by assiduous and unremitting toil, by acquiring mastery over science and art and proficiency in agriculture, industries and commerce. If the people of India become experts in science, art, agriculture and commerce, their deplorable economic condition will soon be a thing of the past.

As a matter of fact India is naturally one of the most prominent agricultural countries in the world. Had the scientific method of cultivation been applied by the educated men of India, she would have stood supreme among the agricultural countries of the world. It has already been said that, according to the holy Shastras, the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas can follow the occupations of the Vaishyas during the times of trouble or danger. We, therefore, hope that none of the educated high caste Hindus will think it beneath their dignity to apply the scientific method of cultivation so that their mother-country may take precedence among the agricultural countries in the world. As India produces almost all sorts of raw materials which may be used in manufactures, and as she possesses a large variety of minerals including iron and coal, she can, without much difficulty, develop a number of industries including the 'key' industries, and rank among the great industrial nations of the world. For a time she may have to send some of her enterprising children abroad for acquiring expert knowledge or she may even have to seek the aid of foreign experts. But that would be done for training up her children in the arts and industries which she would develop, and foreign aid would be dispensed with as soon as they are found able to run the industries themselves. Japan did the same. A true disciple of the West so far as the material sciences and industries are concerned, she has outrun almost all the Western countries in the industrial race. Japan's success points to the path that India should tread.

Recent events have amply shown that if India sets her heart upon having industries, she may not have to encounter much difficulty in respect of capital. The way gold and silver have been coming out of hoards indicates that there is much capital in the country which may be used in floating industrial ventures. Recent events are not without their lessons as to the manner in which it may be tapped. What is needed is a Government with a truly nationalistic policy which would make genuine and strenuous efforts to mobilise and work up the nation's industrial resources. There are a thousand and one ways in which the capital requirements of our industries can be met. Even foreign capital may be imported *under certain conditions* to meet the deficiencies of the indigenous supply of the same. Foreign capitalists must not be allowed to have a hold on the country's industrial resources which might operate to the prejudice of the interests of its people.

There is a certain standpoint from which it would appear that we need not bother ourselves just at present on the question of imports of foreign capital. Various considerations would suggest that we should not think just now of launching out mammoth industrial ventures but should content ourselves with "cottage" industries and small industries which are intermediate between the "cottage" and large scale organisations; and it may safely be asserted that the capital requirements of the latter two types may well be met within the bounds of the country. It would not do to forget that of the industrial nations of the world, Great Britain, Germany, U. S. A. and lately Soviet Russia are the only countries which can claim a fairly large number of gigantic enterprises: the rest are more or less countries of small industries. Still the latter, no less than the former, are fairly self-sufficient economically: all are *more or less* prosperous. Why should not the same be possible for India?

The Hon'ble Mr. Chari's Bill

To Amend the Hindu Law of Inheritance

BY RISHINDRA NATH SARKAR, M. A., B. L.

Advocate, Calcutta High Court and Editor, Sarkar's Hindu Law and Law of Adoption.

THE Bill introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. P. C. D Chari in the Council of State on the 28th August, 1934 with a view to making statutory provision 'to place the Hindu woman on the same footing as the man with regard to properties belonging to a Hindu family', is one of the most harmful measures that can ever be brought before a legislature.



Sj. Rishindra Nath Sarkar

It will affect the Hindu society, men and women alike, most injuriously in spite of the noble object which actuated the Hon'ble Member to introduce the Bill. From the statement of the Objects and Reasons of the Bill it is apparent that the Hon'ble Member-in-charge possesses a poor and imperfect knowledge of Hindu law concerning women.

The Hindu law-givers and particularly their commentators, most of whom lived and wrote during the Mahomedan rule, did not ever contemplate such a provision being made for a daughter. The daughter along with her brothers get a share in the father's estate according

to the Mahomedan law, and, therefore, it cannot be said that the Hindu commentators of this period were ignorant or unmindful of the daughter's cause. Nor did the Rulers of that period ever take any step to remedy the so-called injustice done to the daughters by the Hindu law-givers.

Even *Balam Bhatta* (fictitious name of Lakshmi Debi), the reputed lady commentator of the Mitakshara, did not think that the members of her sex were inequitably treated in Hindu law.

Neither Dr. Troylakya Nath Mitra, the Tagore Law Professor on the law relating to Hindu widows, nor Mr. Rajkumar Sarbadhikary, the Tagore Law Professor on Hindu Law of Inheritance, nor Sir Goorudas

Banerjee, the Tagore Law Professor on Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhana, nor Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter in his thesis on the position of Hindu women, did ever express any view that the Hindu law of succession regarding women requires any change as proposed in the Bill. Nor did Mr. John D. Mayne or Shastri Golap Chandra Sarkar, both distinguished writers on Hindu law, ever feel that the position of the women requires any revision of the law as suggested in the Bill.

It must be stated with great respect to the Hon'ble Member-in-charge of the Bill that he is not right in holding that "almost every system of law gives the women certain rights to family properties and a share on partition" but the Hindu law does not so provide. The Hindu law has made express provision for a woman, at every stage of her life, more carefully and judiciously than any system of law generally known.

The word "family" as used in the Objects and Reasons of the Bill is too indefinite: Before marriage a woman's family is the family of her father and after her marriage the family of her husband is her family. (36 B. 339, 351).

The Hindu law-givers with great foresight and wisdom and after careful consideration decided that a stranger should not, as far as possible, be allowed to be a co-sharer of a family property so that there may not be unnecessary quarrel between strangers whose habits and modes of living may be different and who have no common bond of unity, as is usually to be found among members of the same family or among persons who were very recently members of the same family. This principle of confining family property among the members of the family is the main guiding rule in the order of succession in Hindu law.

. The Hindu law has thus judiciously provided for women :—

The daughter is entitled to her maintenance, befitting her position and status in the family, (*Vide* Sarkar's Hindu Law, pp. 162, 370, 7th Ed.) and similar marriage expenses out of the deceased father's estate (*Vide* Sarkar's Hindu Law, p. 370, 7th Ed.) If the brothers separate before her marriage, she is entitled to a quarter share of what a brother is entitled to. (Mitakshara, Ch. I, Sec. VII, paras 5-7; Sarkar's Hindu Law, p. 370, 7th Ed.)

After her marriage she is similarly entitled to get maintenance in accordance with her social status and position from her husband and on his death out of his estate. (Sarkar's Hindu Law, p. 172-173, 693, 7th Ed.)

If the father dies without a male issue the wife having predeceased him, the daughter inherits the estate absolutely ; and except in the Bombay school, her rights to alienation have been restricted and her heirs have been denied the rights of succession to this property by British Courts.

If her husband dies without any male issue, she inherits absolutely the whole estate of her deceased husband under the Dayabhaga school and under the Mitakshara school in cases of separated husband, subject

to certain limitations introduced by British Courts, as regards alienation and the order of devolution after her. In the Hindu Codes women's rights to hold property were no doubt restricted, but in the commentaries which are now the real source of Hindu law, women were held to be on a par with men. The distinction between *Stridhana* and *Women's Estate* is created by British Courts, restricting a Hindu woman's right of alienation over inherited property, technically called *Women's Estate*. Sastri Golap Chandra Sarkar had, in vain, condemned in no uncertain terms this restriction on women's rights. (*Vide* Sarkar's Hindu Law, 7th Ed. pp. 721 to 731.)

If the husband, governed by the Mitakshara school, was joint and was at all desirous of his wife inheriting his interest in the joint family, he could easily do so by merely expressing his desire to separate from the joint family in unequivocal terms, no matter whether there was actual partition or not. (*Vide* Approvier's case, 11 M. I. A. 75 and *Balkishun v. Ramnarain*, 30 I. A. 139). Otherwise the wife is entitled to proper maintenance (*Vide* Sarkar's Hindu Law, pp. 370, 393, 7th Ed.) befitting her social position and the status of the family (*Nittokissoree v. Jogendra*, 5 I. A. 55, 567 and Sarkar's Hindu Law p. 694) out of the joint family estate in which her husband had an interest. Be it noted that maintenance charges include expenses for residence, establishment, food, clothing, religious ceremonies and the like, in the style suitable to the position of the claimant and of the family.

If the husband leaves behind him his widow and also sons, the widow is entitled to a share equal to that of her son under both the Mitakshara and Dayabhaga schools. (Sarkar's Hindu Law pp. 521-523 and 605, 7th Ed.) Legislation ensuring proper enjoyment of these interests may seem to be necessary, particularly when she has got an only son or a step-son or sons with whom she cannot pull together. But as it is not within the scope of the present topic, nothing more need be said here.

If the husband makes a partition during his life-time then also the wife is entitled to a share equal to that of her son. (Sarkar's Hindu Law pp. 370, 522, 7th Ed.)

The grandmother also is entitled to a share when the male descendants make a partition. (Sarkar's Hindu Law pp. 524, 607, 7th Ed.)

Besides the above, a woman may possess her own property known as *Stridhana* property.

No one is supposed to take greater interest in the daughter than her father. Where then is the necessity for the present Bill, when the father can make ample provision for her by his Will and when he can likewise frustrate the effect of the proposed law by a testament?

Therefore, the position of a daughter is perfectly secure under the Hindu law.

After her marriage, the husband is bound to maintain the wife and her children; but there is no reciprocal duty of the wife to maintain the

husband even if she inherits her father's estate ; nor even is she bound to meet the marriage expenses of her own daughter out of that estate.

Now let us consider the result that will follow if the daughter is given a share along with her brother in her father's estate. By marriage under the existing law, she loses her status in, and goes out of, her father's family. She will then naturally demand her share, if she becomes so entitled under the proposed law ; and the inevitable result will be the disruption of the joint family, the normal condition of Hindu society. In ninety-nine cases out of hundred, this provision will cause disaster to the family and bring utter ruin to its members.

A very large majority of men in India seldom succeed in leaving behind them anything except perhaps a hut and an acre or so of land for cultivation which barely afford a proper shelter to the members of their family and hardly yield sufficient crop, even with joint exertion of all the members of the family, to provide for one meal a day.

The proposed measure will bestow practically no benefit upon the daughter in the absence of any other change in the existing law to improve her position, assuming that it is capable of any further improvement. While she is busy in realizing her share from her brothers, her husband's sister, like herself, perhaps at the same time, is trying to get hers out of her husband's ancestral estate. The result will be that husband's property will similarly be reduced by the same law, almost to the same extent, if not more, as she has carved out of her brothers' estate. The husband's estate being reduced, her source of maintenance, will be reduced. If she inherits the husband's estate she will get the estate reduced almost by the same proportion as she may perhaps get out of her father's estate. And if she becomes entitled to a share in her husband's estate, she will get a reduced share by perhaps the same proportion, if not more, as she may get from her brothers.

Therefore, the total quantity of property available to the husband and wife in both the brother's and husband's families practically remains the same, and the only change effected will be that a stranger, that is, sister's husband or sister's vendee, will be thrust in as a co-sharer in both her brother's and husband's families to the great inconvenience of both, as will appear from what is more fully explained below.

Where then is the inequity of Hindu law when every legitimate want of a woman at every stage of her life is provided for by that law ? And where is the equity in the proposed Bill, whereby the husband's inherited estate is forcibly reduced in providing shares to his sister or sisters and at the same time the poor husband is pinned down to the "archaic" liabilities to maintain his wife and their children without ratable reduction of this burden, at any rate, by the amount of property he had to part with for his sister or sisters ? If the woman wants any share, let her have it by all means with the burden attached to the property and relieve the husband's liability for her and her children's maintenance by a proportionate amount.

In the majority of cases the actual shares of the hut and the land that a daughter may get under the new law will be of no avail, as the marriage of the daughter usually takes place with a bridegroom of a different place, where she, under the "archaic" law and under all the known modern civilized laws, is bound to reside with her husband. But if she actually comes to live in her father's house with her husband, a stranger, which is not likely, it will bring untold misery to both the families. She will, therefore, have to sell her undivided share for which she will seldom find a purchaser, as similar process of partition and proposal for sale will be constantly occurring in every Hindu family after the marriage of each daughter, under this new law. Even if she gets a purchaser, he will not offer proper price for her share of the dwelling house, as he will not be able to enter into immediate possession under Section 44 of the Transfer of Property Act until partition is effected by a protracted litigation at a heavy cost. Therefore, constant ill-feeling, crop of litigations and deterioration in the value of property, will be the result and will thus bring ruin to every family.

Partition between brothers cannot bring about a similar situation as in the majority of cases they merely separate in mess but live, as before, in their respective rooms, or, if possible, get it partitioned by metes and bounds and enjoy their allotted portions without much risk of their privacy being violated as they belong to the same family. Their customs, habits, and manners of living being the same, they live in peace and amity, a condition not possible among strangers. Whereas the daughter who is bound to live in her husband's family under both modern and "archaic" laws must, in the generality of cases, sell her portion of undivided or divided share in her father's property to a stranger, as her brothers will seldom be in a solvent position to exercise their rights of preemption under the Partition Act (Act IV of 1893) and to purchase her share in the hut.

The brother's sons and daughters will, likewise, have to pass through the same process, i. e. constant partition and sale of daughter's shares will be going on unnecessarily in each Hindu family and at every step of devolution of heritage.

In order to counteract the effect of the proposed law, the Hindus governed by the Dayabhaga school will perhaps have to devise their property by Will and those governed by the Mitakshara school will have to sever themselves from the joint family before they can execute a legally effective Will. This means litigation and heavy probate duty to each family at every step of devolution. There is no necessity of making any Will by the Hindus under the existing law and consequently no probate duty is necessary to be paid now.

As has already been indicated, the position of the daughter in each family will not practically be improved, as while the daughter is taking out a share from the brothers, her husband's ancestral property, the source of

her maintenance, is being, probably at the same time, reduced in giving his sister a share. There may be some who believe that the position of the daughter will be, to a certain extent, improved as her husband will not be able to deal with such a share at his pleasure and she will keep her property separately for her own use. But that will seldom happen in a Hindu family, even if her share be immovable property and not liquid cash which, however, in large majority of cases, will ultimately be her share. It can be boldly asserted that ninety-nine per cent of the Hindu wives, in cases of urgent family need, willingly allow their husbands to dispose of their properties, immovables and movables including ornaments. It may be urged that women are generally forced or prevailed upon to part with their properties. But this difficulty will not be solved if women get shares of their patrimony under this Bill. They may similarly be forced or prevailed upon to submit to their husband's wishes and to part with these shares also. Even properly educated, intelligent and strong-minded wives of almost every nationality are always found to do so out of their true and not cupboard love for their husbands to save them from ignominy and trouble. The Hindu wife, to be sure, cannot dream of keeping everything to herself when her husband is in dire need of money to meet a pressing necessity.

The operative Clause 2 of the Bill, namely, "Notwithstanding any custom, rule or interpretation of Hindu law, a Hindu woman shall be deemed to be a member of the co-parcenary of which her father is a member" is directly contradictory to the express provision of Hindu law. According to Hindu law a woman before her marriage possesses the *gotra* of her father and as such is a member of the father's co-parcenary with an inchoate right to obtain maintenance and marriage expenses out of the father's estate. By marriage she is transferred from the family of her father and becomes a member of the husband's family and the husband's *gotra* becomes her *gotra* and a similar inchoate right accrues in her husband's family. (*Vide* Sir Goorudas's Marriage and Stridhana p. 57, 3rd Ed. and the view of Chandavarkar J. in 36 B. 339 F. B.) The father's and the husband's family and *gotra* can never be the same.

The Hon'ble Member says in the Statement of Objects and Reasons : "No social reform intended to improve the status of woman can be effective unless economic position is improved, her rights to property is recognised by law and placed on a fair and equal footing with men of her family". A Bill introduced with a view to prospective reforms which are not disclosed, is against all rules of legislation. As the Hon'ble Member has not indicated what "social reforms" he meant, one cannot but speculate and record his views on the probable reforms.

Position of Hindu women, like those of English and Mahomedan women, is no doubt apparently subordinate to that of men and if, as stated in the Objects and Reasons, it is intended "to place Hindu women on the same footing as the men with regard to properties belonging to a Hindu

family" with a view to securing imaginary social reforms, the proposed legislation is no remedy.

The seemingly superior position of men is attributed by some to forcible usurpation by the brute power in men. It will be so in every society, at all times and among every animal including man, as it is since the days of Adam and Eve. Powerful person will always govern and protect the weak. Survival of the fittest is law. In free contest physically and intellectually, between men and women the latter must have been worsted and that is a conclusion from human history, otherwise a condition different from the existing order of things would have existed in society. Chivalrous men may shudder at the idea, but that is a fact. So if any one now suggests that position fit for men be everywhere given to women, then men shall always have unnecessarily to strain every nerve and take great pains to keep the women up in that artificial position which, unaided, she is thoroughly unfit to assume.

Soviet Russia is said to be abrogating the law of marriage with all marital obligations, while her neighbour Nazi Germany is making it obligatory for every girl to marry and bear child, her place being assigned to the side of the hearth, sick-bed and cradle. Fascist Italy is said to be following the same line as Germany. It is not known either whether the position of the gold-diggers in Uncle Sam's country is an enviable one for our girls. Cry for women's emancipation has become the fashion of the day. The greatest living English thinker has said: "Unless women repudiates her womanliness, her duty to her husband, to her children, to society, to the law, and to every one but herself, she cannot emancipate her". Indian social reformers therefore, should pause and ponder and then pick and choose. They should not curse everything old and plunge headlong into the deep in search of reforms.

The so-called superior position occupied by men in every nationality is in reality a responsible position full of care and anxiety and is not due to the exercise of superior brute power of men over women as is loudly proclaimed by some. Controversy regarding the relative position of men and women is as hoary as Time; and the present position has been arrived at by mutual adjustment of their relations for their mutual advantage based on experience gained since the dawn of human civilisation.

The modern agitation in India to slice out shares for women from the properties of their male relations which are legally charged with meeting all wants of women, is the outcome of intense desire of some women to serve the public and to play the role of man, particularly in the field of politics, forgetting their legitimate duties in the family to which they belong. They do not themselves earn but make their male relations bleed white to meet the heavy expenses of their public life, besides their ordinary wants; and lest poor men fail to meet their extra demands, they and their blind supporters want to force men to carve out a portion of their property, keeping the portion left charged with their maintenance as heretofore.

Some social reforms may seem to be necessary, but certainly not the law suggested in the Bill as it will scarcely be of any assistance to women: on the contrary, if it be incorporated in the Statute book, it will bring great misery on the family to which they belong and consequently on them also.

Landholders' Plight

BY GIRIJA BHUSAN CHATTERJEE,
Zamindar, Sadhuhati, JESSORE.

MR. Taradas Chatterjee's article on "Landholders' Position", which appeared in the October issue of the *Landholders' Journal*, is a convincing exposition of the subject and is entitled to more than a passing notice. Mr. Chatterjee is a modern youth of culture with perfectly reasonable views. He has examined the subject as a lawyer would and suggested very much like a lawyer.

There is very little to object to Mr. Chatterjee's views in the line of discussions chosen by him. But, I am afraid, there are many things touching the landholders' position which have escaped his notice. Besides, the writer of the present article with his advanced age and long and intimate association with zamindari affairs, cannot see his way to be so very optimistic about zamindars' future as Mr. Chatterjee is found to be.

However unfortunate might have been the relations between landlords and tenants at certain periods in the past, it may be asserted with a considerable degree of certainty that the tenants of those days, unlike those of the present, never lost sight of the fact that their landlords got to pay the land revenue which would be met from the funds *they* placed in their hands. With the plea of reduced prices of crops, the present-day tenants are withholding payment of rents with the result that the landlords' responsibilities regarding payment of land revenue are not discharged. The consequences are too well-known to mention. Who is not aware of the large number of estates that are being put up to auction sales after every *kist* in the districts of Bengal?

At present the non-cultivating tenants form nearly 50 per cent of the entire tenantry and they are drawn from the village *mahajans*, traders, service-holders and followers of other professions. In most cases they let out their holdings to cultivators under the *Barga* system; in some, on rent basis. These tenants generally pay rents to their superior landlords out of what they collect from their raiyats or under-raiyats; and the collections very often fall short of the yearly rent of their holdings. We cannot blame these people if they find it very inconvenient in these days to sell their share of the crops to procure the means wherewith to pay up their dues to their superior landlords or if they refuse to draw on their income from other sources for the same purpose. I am sorry I cannot endorse the opinion of Mr. Chatterjee that zamindars who have *Bhadralogue* tenants must necessarily be fortunate. It may be so in some cases, but certainly not in all. The *Bhadralogue* tenant is often a big *patnidar*.

and should properly be placed in the category of landholders. The agents of these tenants do not consider in the least the difficulties of the landholders and expressly declare that their masters are not disposed to pay anything towards rent from incomes other than what they realise from their tenants. They defer payment mainly on the ground of non-realisation of dues from their under-tenants, and, should zamindars' collectors prove importunate, they bluff them with talks of relinquishment of their holdings. So the zamindar has no other alternative but to seek court's help and protection.

The relations between landlords and tenants stand estranged now for some length of time. The reasons are not far to seek. The direct and intimate connection which previously obtained between the landlords and *bona fide* cultivators has now been lost. The holdings have mostly passed into the hands of middlemen, generally village traders or *maha-jans*, who advance money or grain to the cultivators to enable them to tide over financial difficulties or to carry on agricultural operations, with the result that the actual cultivators have been relegated to the status of *korfa raiyats*. The advances are often made on the *khai khalasi* system in which the lender enjoys the proceeds of the lands till the whole debt is liquidated by the usufruct. The liability for payment of rent continues to be fixed on the cultivator, although actually it is not he who pays the rent direct to the zamindar but the *khai khalasidars*. The latter represents the cultivator, makes payment for him and takes rent receipts too.

Sometimes a hitch on purely personal grounds between zamindars' *gomasta* and these middlemen is converted into a dispute between the zamindars and the tenants whom the middlemen represent. Naturally, the *gomasta* receives the support of his zamindar and the middlemen-*maha-jan* of his clients. Situated as they are, the raiyats have no other alternative than to forsake the zamindar and side with their *maha-jans*, who, it may be said in passing, would not pay the zamindar his dues unless compelled to do so.

Even where the entire holdings are not mortgaged under the *khai khalasi* system, the situation of the tenant is such as cannot fail to react with disastrous consequences on the financial position of the zamindar. The income from lands that are still left in his possession is very seldom enough for the tenant to make both ends meet. So he is inevitably, and almost perpetually, in arrears. Neither does he hope ever to recover the lands which have once passed into the hands of the mortgagee. Thus between the cultivator and his *maha-jan*, neither of whom pays, the zamindar is in a nice fix. What can he do? Unless he can attach standing crops in time or has open to him speedy methods of realisation, there is no hope for him. Will the Government come to his rescue and grant general power of certification for attaching crops and properties of the defaulting tenants? I do not think. I am not shutting my eyes to the possibility of abuse of power here and there, but I cannot too strongly

impress on the Government the necessity to devise some suitable means to relieve immediately the zamindars from the perilous plight in which they find themselves.

The days of cordial relationship are gone. Each class is viewed by the other with suspicion. Communistic socialism is out to work mischief and is peeping in everywhere. Tenants are being taught to look upon the zamindars as their enemies. The idea is being sought to impress upon them that *they* are the rightful owners of land, and that the landholders are superfluous parts of society who have no right to the enjoyment of rent and who are not even fit to collect rent. They have come to think that there is no moral obligation on them to pay rent and are busy exploring ways of avoiding the legal consequences of non-payment. For long the landholders slept over the situation, and their awakening, when at last it came, came with a rude shock. They found the circumstances too strong for them; they had to spare the rod and their children were spoiled. The recovery of their former position is today a vastly complex problem.

The ordinary provisions of law as embodied in the various Tenancy Acts are notorious for their dilatory character and can hardly be relied on for improvement of the situation. In fact, they are positively reactionary so far as zamindars are concerned and every one of them is a step towards hardening the situation still further for them. From what we know of Government and the nature of Government action, we cannot hope that any ameliorative measure, which they may be disposed to adopt in the interest of landholders, will be adopted before a considerable number of estates have changed hands. It is quite possible that the purchasers will be able to discharge their responsibilities regarding revenue for a time out of the superfluous capital in their hands. But a time is sure to come when they will have to calculate their percentage of profit, utilize the lands as best as they can and adopt measures to realize rents from their tenants. Then will they face a difficulty similar to what is being experienced by the present body of landholders. The defaulters will seek subterfuges and make frantic attempts to prevent lands from being taken out of their hands for arrears of rents. The law courts will be fighting grounds for the parties with the lawyers as soldiers.

In the *Khas Mahals* and estates under the Court of Wards, the Government are having resort to the certificate procedure for speedy realization of rents. This has caused a sensation among tenants of these Mahals and estates—and, for ought we know, is having the desired effect. It is only very sparingly that zamindars are being given this special power although circumstances call for extension of it to the general body of them. Matters are getting increasingly worse from day to day and we are returning, it seems, to conditions that obtained at the beginning of the British rule. The healthy influence of the Permanent Settlement is waning. The Settlement itself is in jeopardy. The modern economists are blind to its beneficent aspects and oppose it tooth and nail. Few care

to see that a complex social order has grown in the province on the basis of this long-standing arrangement and that a disturbance of the base might mean a crash of the superstructure. Fortunately, members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee have taken a perfectly sane view of the question and their recommendations on it constitute a silver lining in the besetting cloud. But even they could not conceive of a guarantee that socialists and communists would not lay their impious hands on the time-worn sacrosanct Settlement. I shudder to contemplate the consequences of its disappearance if steps are not taken to replace it by a perfectly suitable system and the process of replacement itself is not very gradual.



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The Problem of Commercial Safeguards

BY PROF. KHAGENDRA N. SEN, M.A., F.R.E.S. (Lond.)

THE first task of a self-governing India would assuredly lie in the sphere of economic development for a long time to come. That is the reason why economic and commercial problems are at present engaging so much public attention in the country. Even Mahatma Gandhi has withdrawn from the Congress to take up the work of the economic rehabilitation of the countryside. The real character and guts of the people are tested in the use that they make of the opportunities for securing economic progress and prosperity. In India, such opportunities are not super-abundant. The reason lies in part in the occupation of the most fruitful fields of economic activity by non-Indian vested interests. In commerce and industry, in finance and banking, in shipping and trade, the points of advantage are all in the occupation of European capital, control and management. The European firms and companies doing business in this country have had the double advantage of an early start and the active sympathy, assistance and encouragement of the Government of the country. A set of circumstances, partly historical and partly political, over which the people of this country had had but little control, have driven the Indian to the wall, there to fight the battle of his economic emancipation as best as he can. To a considerable extent, British trade and commerce have flourished at the expense of Indian. The loss of the external markets to Indian manufactures which had at one time attained world-wide fame, the decay of our shipping, the steady ruralization of the country during the first period of British Rule in India from the effects of which we are still trying to recover—all these could be directly traced to British connexion with India. That connexion has no doubt given us peace and security at a time when they were badly needed. But the gift, at its best, has been of equal advantage to the Indian agriculturist as to the British trader, while at its worst it has resulted in a perverted sense of values as is evident from the expenditure that, after over 150 years of British Rule in this country, we still incur on law and order compared to that on national services. I do not, indeed, want to underestimate the necessity of adequate protection for life and liberty, but simply to point out that in this country it has often been used as a device for silencing the national clamour for a wide and rapid extension of nation-building activities. In the meanwhile, the merchants and industrialists of Great Britain had been consolidating their position, helped by all the resources

of an industrially advanced country and backed by a Government the chief executive of which were composed of their own countrymen.

It is more in sorrow than in any other spirit that I have placed these two pictures—the stagnation of Indian enterprise and the consolidation of British economic power in India—side by side to show the deep contrast that they present. To some extent, as I said, the one has been the consequence of the other. No blame could be attached to the pioneering enterprise of Britishers, who took advantage of a situation so skilfully and assiduously brought about, beyond the blame that attaches to self-interest and self-advancement. The real point was the impotence and helplessness of our forefathers who had not only been victims of a succession of political pirates and marauders but had been placed in such a social and economic system, cut off from the rest of the world, that the lessons of the Industrial Revolution remained for about a century a sealed book to them. It was only since the middle of the nineteenth century that the appreciation by Indians of the new economic gospel, the gospel of machinery and large scale production, the gospel of creating new wants and new ways of satisfying them, of harnessing the powers of nature for exploiting her resources, of making coal, iron and steel do the work of man, could lead to direct economic results. The fact that the cotton textile industry of India has virtually passed under the control of Indian capital and management is a striking testimony of the fact that our countrymen are not absolutely incapable of rising over the most formidable of difficulties. Its tale of woes since then is only a reminder that the pioneering generation has passed away. What we want at the present moment is a steady flow of enterprise and activity, a speedy supply of captains of industry of the stuff that pioneers are made of, that will reduce difficulties to a negligible minimum or make of them a lever of further progress, a spur to greater effort and achievement. There was an Asutosh Mookerjee who succeeded in transforming a senate, eighty per cent of which were nominated, into a popular house by making it on every important occasion bend to his will. There were a Chittaranjan Das and a Motilal Nehru who converted a solid and unashamed majority in the Legislature, consisting of officials, nominated non-officials and men who usually vote with the Government into an ineffective minority on all important measures, leading their own party from victory to victory. There is, again, a Rajendra Nath Mookerjee in Bengal who has built up a magnificent business which is the envy of many European houses. Acharyya P. C. Ray has shown that the real thing that matters in commerce and business is a shrewd business sense, a capacity to take risks, and unremitting toil. The Tata Iron and Steel Works, the Central Bank of India, the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, the Martin and Company, the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, and a host of others have been products of Indian capital and enterprise. The most unfortunate part of the story has been, not that Indian enterprise cannot compete with the British on equal terms, but that there has not been a sufficiency of such enterprise as can do it. The opposition of British vested interests is, no

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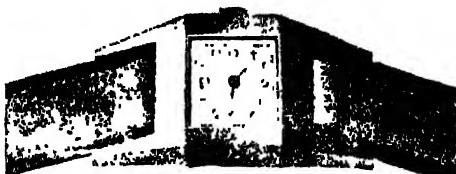


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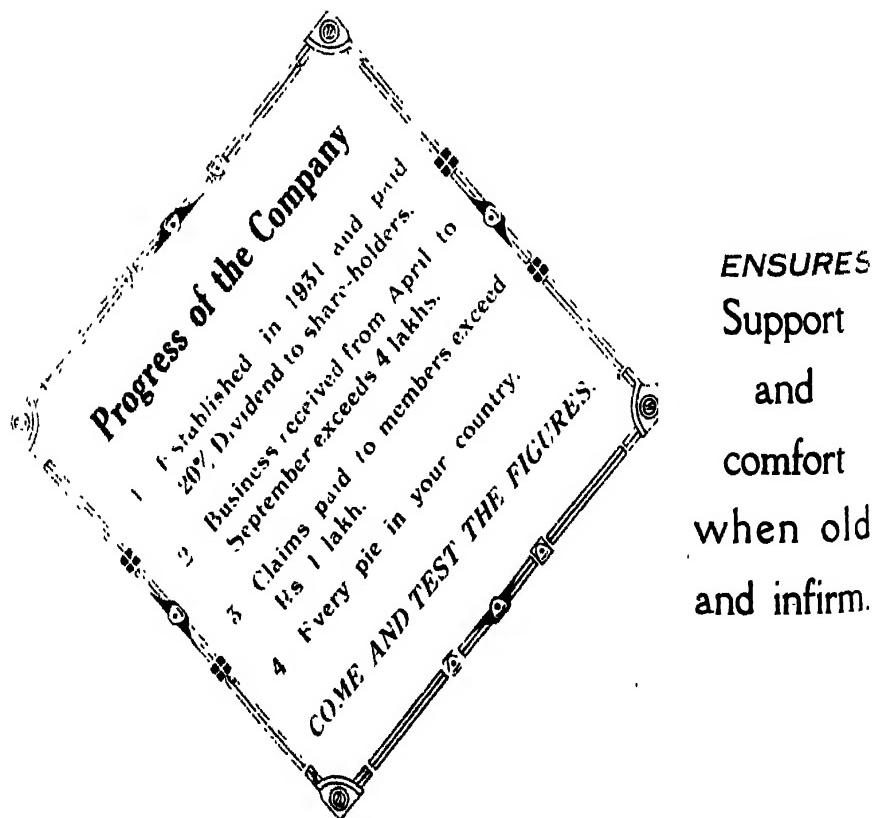
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doubt, responsible for the failure of Indian enterprise in many directions. The grant of monopolistic rights and privileges—in some cases, without opportunity being given to Indian concerns to bid for the same—has been the strongest bulwark of British commercial houses against local competition. In the past, they have amounted to a virtual discrimination in favour of the British and at present they operate against the possibility of Indian enterprise re-capturing even a part of the business over which British capital and control wield a monopolistic power. In respect of that business, British commerce, finance, banking and insurance have formed a ring which is practically impregnable.* We cannot wait indefinitely for a generation of giants to break it.

Indian commerce and industry have always made it a grievance that this impregnable position in which British commercial interests have entrenched themselves has been made possible with the active help and connivance of the Government. Important and valuable concessions and "rights" had been freely granted to non-Indian concerns which ought in justice and from policy to have been reserved for the nationals of the country. These relate to mining, plantations, railway construction and to such matters as the placing of valuable contract, purchase of stores etc. The British companies themselves have from the very start made it a point to support each other in the matter, for instance, of banking facilities, insurance, provision of tonnage and other matters. To this the answer would probably be that these are well-known methods of trade—the secrets of big business—and if British industrialists took the risk of an early start, they were naturally entitled to its advantages. That the start in many cases had been a privileged start is often ignored. That the advantages so far secured have more than outweighed the risks undertaken originally is another of the points, though weaker than the first, which is made out by the critics. But the main criticism I have already indicated. Even assuming that the start had not been a privileged one and that the advantages now flowing from it were perfectly lawful gains, the fact cannot be disputed that certain lines of economic activity which are regarded as a national concern in every country are now in the strong grip of what nothing but a legal fiction arbitrarily framed would describe as "national interests". Of the key industries, only iron and steel are in national hands. Coal mining, banking and exchange, shipping, railways (excepting in so far as they are besides being state-owned, also state-managed), important public utility concerns, etc., are all under the predominant influence of non-national private commercial interests. So far as the commercial and semi-commercial departments of the State are concerned, the position is hardly different, for whether we speak of the Railway Board or the Forest Service or of such economic functions of the Government as the control of currency and credit, trade unionism or tariff, there is

* For a number of concrete instances, see a series of articles under the caption, 'Do they enjoy Privileges?' published in the *Young India* dated the 25th June, 2nd and 9th July, 1931. They have since been reprinted and published by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta.

ample evidence to show that the Government policy is heavily biased in favour of European trade and commerce. Again, the fact that many important avenues of employment are now crowded by British officers has been entirely due to the fact that the Government had not taken early steps to give such training to Indians as would qualify them for such appointment. Employment in military and naval service including mercantile marine, in the mechanical departments of railways and steamships, in posts and customs services has been practically made a monopoly of British and Anglo-Indian recruits, the usual charge against the Indian being that of want of suitable qualifications. The real reason was that suitable facilities for the training of Indians had been completely absent, if not deliberately withheld. The privileged position of individual Europeans in certain services can be traced to this fact.

Since it is no use crying over spilt milk, the real question that troubles every thoughtful Indian is how to rectify this position, how to enable the Indian to make up the leeway. One way of doing things would be to accept the present order of things as sacrosanct and look helplessly on, trusting to the dispensation of a merciful Providence. Another way would be to tap those fields of economic activity which are yet outside the grip of vested interests or which would not involve a conflict with those interests. A third alternative would be to pursue a national programme of economic development regardless of all questions of vested interests as such but allowing to them what is proper and legitimate, the final arbiter as to what is proper and legitimate being an impartial tribunal of adjudication, or, failing that, an appropriate Convention representative of all interests. It is needless to add that it is the third alternative that appeals to the national sentiment. It would assure to European commerce all rights which have been lawfully earned ; but as Mr. Gaganvihari L. Mehta pointed out in his excellent article on "Equality of Trading Rights" published in the *Modern Review* for April, 1931,—"If it is found that in certain spheres of economic activity, the non-Indian interests have been established through discrimination against Indian interests then to that extent the claim for perpetuation of such vested rights is weakened". This third alternative appeals to Indian minds because it is the only way by which Indian capital and enterprise may obtain a footing on soil that has hitherto been regarded as a close preserve for European commerce and industry, for instance, in foreign exchange business. So close and far-reaching is this grip of vested interests and so conscious they are of the unjustifiable premises on which they stand that even in regard to the second alternative mentioned above, the path is, as we shall presently see, sought to be barricaded with the wall of obstruction to meet what are nothing but purely hypothetical dangers. The grant of bounties belong to this category. Nothing but hair-splitting casuistry can make the conferment of bounties as a measure for protecting a struggling Indian industry a question of discrimination. To say that a bounty should be available to long-established and resourceful non-Indian firms at the

same time that it is made available to the weak Indian competitors, would not only lead to a waste of public revenue but would reveal the sanctimonious protestations and professions above the desire of British mercantile interests to see Indian industry and commerce prosper through all legitimate means, in their true setting. To oppose the grant of bounties to Indian firms on the plea that it involves discrimination reduces the scope of what is legitimate to nil.

The third alternative, as I said, appeals to progressive nationalist opinion. There are a thousand and one ways known to big business by which an undesirable competitor who has just had a start can be put out of action. In shipping we have got, for example, the system of deferred rebates, and in the last resort, of dumping of tonnage to crush a rival. Resourceful firms do not hesitate to undersell and sacrifice revenue for a temporary period if at the end of the period competition is eliminated and the losses sustained more than made up by monopoly profits accumulated later. Yet it is felt that if Indians are to progress as an industrial and commercial nation of any importance, a conflict with foreign vested interests is unavoidable. The Bill to reserve the coastal traffic of India to Indian vessels sponsored by Mr. S. N Haji of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company in the Legislative Assembly in 1928 was a test case with a very interesting sequel. It immediately produced a reaction in the dovecots of foreign commerce, the climax of which could be found in the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. A reference to the various stages through which the European demand for safeguards for commercial discrimination reached its present form would reveal the thorough effectiveness with which British opposition to Indian aspirations has been conducted.

In 1928, in a memorandum which was inspired by Mr. Haji's Bill, the Associated Chambers of Commerce led the movements against discrimination, either legislative or financial, against British commercial interests. The Nehru Committee laid down the principle that it was "inconceivable that there can be any discriminating legislation against any community doing business lawfully in India". Later on, during the debate on the Indian Coastal Traffic Bill in the Legislative Assembly in September, 1928, Pandit Motilal Nehru explained that the only basis upon which equality and non-discrimination could be claimed was the acceptance of Indian citizenship by all those who wanted to profit by such a claim, and the lines of Indian citizenship were broadly indicated in the definition adopted by the All Parties Conference in December, 1928. The representatives of European commerce were obviously not impressed with the argument, or perhaps, were so impressed as to have been almost frightened away by it, for in July, 1929, the Associated Chambers addressed a communication, which was meant for the Indian Statutory (Simon) Commission and was widely circulated both in this country and in England, in which demand was put forward for *constitutional* safeguards against discriminatory legislation. This was followed up by another communication by

the same body in July, 1930. The Statutory Commission, in spite of the whole weight of European commercial opinion being thrown in favour of constitutional guarantees against commercial discrimination, either legislative or financial, demurred and pointed out the impracticability of preventing discriminatory legislation by attempting to define it in a constitutional instrument. (*Vide para 156 of the Report, Vol. II.*).

It was natural to expect that European opinion would not allow the matter to rest at this point. The question was raised again in the Round Table Conference, but in a modified form. It was suggested that an understanding or trade convention should be made ensuring equality of status between European and Indian commercial communities trading in India. In January, 1931, the Minorities Sub-Committee adopted the now famous clause 14 recording the general agreement that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community and those of Indian-born subjects in matters of trade and commerce, which was amended and adopted by the Committee of the Whole Conference at their meeting on January, 19, 1931 in the following form : "At the instance of the British commercial community the principle was generally agreed that there should be no discrimination between the rights of the British mercantile community, firms and companies trading in India and the rights of Indian-born subjects and that an appropriate Convention based on reciprocity should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights." This clause was adopted in a huff, practically on the last day of the Conference, within a few hours of its being hammered into shape in the Minorities Sub-Committee. At one time the question threatened the Conference with disruption which explains the extremely general nature in which the clause was finally adopted. It is, however, significant that a rider was retained in the clause to the effect that "the existing rights of the European community in India in regard to criminal trials should be maintained." That is to say, at least in one particular, there was to be no equality of rights.

The question was re-opened in the second session of the Round Table Conference. In the meanwhile, there had been a political landslide in Great Britain and the National Government had been formed with a strong Conservative bias. It was in this session that the scope of safeguards against commercial discrimination was extended to include, besides legislative discrimination, administrative discrimination as well. The Federal Structure Committee discussed the question in great detail in paras 16-26 of the Fourth Report and adopted the following principles :

(i) "No subject of the Crown who may be ordinarily resident or carrying on trade or business in British India should be subjected to any disability or discrimination, legislative or administrative, by reason of his race, descent, religion or place of birth, in respect of taxation, the holding of property, the carrying on of any profession, trade or business or in respect of residence or travel". (para 18)

(2) A clause on the above lines should be incorporated in the constitution and "an experienced Parliamentary draftsman would be able to devise an adequate and workable formula which it would not be beyond the competence of a Court of Law to interpret and make effective". The real safeguard against administrative discrimination, the Committee held, must be looked for "in the good faith and commonsense of the different branches of the executive government, reinforced where necessary, by the special powers vested in the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors". (paras 22 and 23.)

(3) The principle of reciprocity should be followed in the case of persons and bodies in the United Kingdom trading with India, but neither resident nor possessing establishments there. (para 24)

(4) The Committee laid down that (i) key industries could be protected and unfair competition penalised without the use of discriminatory measures, and were of opinion that (ii) where the legislature had determined upon some system of bounties or subsidies for the purpose of encouraging local industries, the right to attach reasonable conditions to any such grant from public funds was fully recognized, as it had been recognized in 1925 by the External Capital Committee and is recognized today by the practice of the Government of India itself.* (para 20)

(5) The idea of a Convention was rejected. (para 25)

In the third session of the Conference, the "Prevention of Commercial Discrimination" was proposed to be made a "special responsibility" both of the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors. The Committee on Commercial Safeguards, however, laid down by a majority that the distinction sought to be drawn between those carrying on business with and in India in the Federal Structure Committee in the previous session would give rise to legal confusion and conflict of jurisdiction so that it was better to provide, in addition to the general principles indicated in para 18 of the F. S. Committee Report, that "no subject of His Majesty domiciled in the United Kingdom and no company registered in the United Kingdom should be subjected to any disabilities or discrimination in respect of the matters enumerated in paragraph 18 of the Fourth Report of the Federal Structure Committee to which subjects of His Majesty domiciled in India or companies registered in India are not subjected in the United Kingdom." In regard to bounties, the Commercial Safeguards Committee supported the view that "bounties or subsidies should be available, without distinction, to all firms or individuals engaged in a particular trade or industry at the time the enactment authorizing them is passed, but that in regard to companies entering the field after that date, the Government should be at liberty to impose the conditions of eligibility recommended by the External Capital Committee."

* Mahatma Gandhi agreed with the principle of non-discrimination only to the extent that the future Government should not be burdened with any restriction save that no discrimination should be made merely on the ground of race, colour or creed. As regards the grant of bounties, Congress representatives expressed the view that it must be within the competence of the Legislature to confine them to Indians or companies with Indian capital.

These recommendations of the Commercial Safeguards Committee were adopted, with some modifications in paragraphs 122-124 of the Proposals of the White Paper issued on the 15th March, 1933, after the conclusion of the third session of the Round Table Conference. Thus provision was made so that Acts like the Punjab Land Alienation Act could not be brought within the scope of commercial safeguards; so also in regard to any legislation that may, in the discretion of the Governor-General or the Governor, be necessary in the interests of peace and tranquillity. Para 123 of the Proposals, which embodied the reciprocity clause, included a provision for equal treatment on a reciprocal basis of ships registered respectively in British India and the United Kingdom. Para 124 embodied the recommendations of the Commercial Safeguards Committee in respect of the grant of bounties and subsidies. The special responsibility of the Governor-General and of the Provincial Governors for the prevention of commercial discrimination was, of course, retained.

After the publication of the White Paper, there was a considerable stiffening of left-wing Conservative attitude regarding the grant of responsibility at the Centre, the question of commercial safeguards, and the transfer of law and order. The Report of the Joint Committee of the Parliament unmistakably betrays the severe pressure that the opinion of the Churchill-Page-Croft group exerted on the members of the Committee in respect of these questions. Here we are concerned with the question of commercial safeguards. It there had been any possible loophole in the previous pronouncements and recommendations on the subject, the proposals of the Joint Committee have more than sealed up all such loopholes. Apart from the question of the mutual recognition of medical degrees and practitioners in the United Kingdom and British India, and the paragraph relating to Burma, the Committee devote as many as seventeen paragraphs to this question. The subject is discussed under the heading of "Commercial and *Other Forms* of Discrimination", and the "other forms" of discrimination include, for the first time, discrimination against British imports. The reason for including this form of discrimination within the scope of commercial safeguards has been, in the language of the Committee, due to the fact that "Fears have been expressed lest the exercise by the Indian Legislature of the powers contemplated in the (Fiscal) Convention might result in the imposition of penal tariffs on British goods or in the application to them of penalty restrictive regulations with the object, not of fostering Indian trade, but of injuring and excluding British trade". Accordingly, it is proposed that the Governor-General should have a special responsibility for the "prevention of measures, legislative or administrative, which would subject British goods, imported into India from the United Kingdom to discriminatory or penal treatment". "It will be his duty," the Joint Committee write, "to intervene in tariff policy or in the negotiation or variation of tariff agreements only if in his opinion the intention of the policy contemplated is to subject trade between the United Kingdom and India to

restrictions conceived, not in the economic interests of India but with the object of injuring the interests of the United Kingdom". This position is stated to cover not only direct discrimination but also "indirect discrimination by means of differential treatment of various types of products".

A sample of the spirit in which the Joint Committee have approached this problem is set out further in their observations and proposals in regard to discrimination against British trade in India (as distinct from British imports). The Committee recognize that the Joint Memorandum of the British India Delegation have accepted the principle of non-discrimination against British commercial interests and refer also to the fact that the latter have also assured, no less strongly, that they do not ask for any exceptional or preferential treatment for British trade as against Indian trade. Yet they think it necessary to include safeguards against commercial discrimination in the Constitution Act itself, because "utterances have been made which could not fail to give rise to suspicions and doubts and that statutory provision by way of re-assurance is an evident necessity." This is a characteristic reply to the observation of the British India Delegation that "a friendly settlement by negotiation is by far the most appropriate and satisfactory method of dealing with this complicated matter." The Joint Committee, no doubt, express their pious concurrence with this view and the view that "agreement and goodwill form the most satisfactory basis for commercial relations between India and this country", and are prepared to follow it so far as to suggest that "there should be nothing in the Constitution which might close the door against a Convention." In the meanwhile, however, they feel it "an evident necessity" to give statutory form to "suspicions and doubts" that have been roused by certain "utterances" which should also operate, as it were, as a stand-by in case the Convention breaks down.* The coercive nature of this provision need not be emphasised, and the spirit of distrust that it discloses.

The Joint Committee's recommendations regarding the provision for safeguards against discrimination may best be studied under the five following heads, namely, discrimination against British imports ; discrimination against British trade—legislative, in form as well as in fact ; discrimination against British trade—legislative, in fact, though not in form ; discrimination against British trade—administrative ; discrimination in the practice of the professions. We may consider these briefly. The first form of discrimination has already been considered. We may now deal with the other forms, specifying the Committee's proposals.

* "We recommend accordingly that His Majesty is satisfied that a Convention has been made between His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and the new Government of India covering the matters with which we have already dealt in this chapter of our Report, and that the necessary legislation for implementing it has been passed by Parliament and the Indian Legislature, should be empowered to declare by Order in Council that the statutory provisions in the Constitution Act shall not apply so long as the Convention continues in force between the two countries."

J. P. C. Report, para 360.

Legislative discrimination :—No law (which includes regulations, bye-laws etc., by whomsoever made, having the force of law) restricting the right of entry into British India should apply to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom though there should be a saving in respect of the right to restrict the entry of, or to remove, undesirable persons ; no law relating to taxation, travel and residence, the holding of property, the holding of public office, or in the carrying on of any trade, business, profession in British India, should apply to British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom, in so far as it imposes conditions or restrictions based upon domicile, residence or duration of residence, language, race, religion, or place of birth ; a company incorporated now or hereafter in the United Kingdom, should, when trading in India, be deemed to have complied with the provisions of any Indian law relating to the place of incorporation of companies trading in India, or to the domicile, residence or duration of residence, language, race, religion, descent or place of birth, of the directors, shareholders, or of the agents and servants of such companies ; similarly, British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom who are directors, shareholders, servants or agents of a company incorporated now or hereafter in India should be deemed to have complied with any conditions imposed by Indian law upon companies so incorporated, relating to the domicile, residence or duration of residence, language, race, religion, descent or place of birth of directors, shareholders, agents or servants. These exemptions and provisions will be reciprocal as between India and the United Kingdom.

Certain exceptions to the above are allowed for. Thus, the provisions indicated above should not, it is stated, affect any laws in force at the commencement of the Constitution Act, or laws which exempt from taxation persons not domiciled or resident in India. In regard to bounties and subsidies, the recommendations of the Fourth Report of the Federal Structure Committee, since adopted in White Paper, are approved with the proviso that in respect of the companies already engaged, at the date of the Act which authorises the grant, in that branch of trade or industry which it is sought to encourage, the condition as to reciprocity should apply.

Legislative discrimination in effect, though not in form :—The Governor-General and the Governors are laid under the duty of not feeling themselves bound by the terms of the *statutory* prohibitions in relation to discrimination and of withholding their assent from any measure which, though not in form discriminatory would, in their judgment, have a discriminatory effect. Incidentally, the general proposition is laid down that "the discretion of the Governor-General and of the Governors in the granting or withholding of assent to all Bills of their Legislature should be free and unfettered" as "a necessary concomitant of the stage of responsible Government which our proposals are designed to secure".

Administrative discrimination :—The difficulty of statutory prohibition of administrative discrimination is recognized but this special

responsibility of the Governor-General and Governors is made to extend to "the prevention of administrative discrimination in any of the matters in respect of which provision against legislative discrimination is made under the Act".

Discrimination in the matter of the practice of the professions :—The power of the Indian legislatures to impose restrictions and conditions as to qualifications etc. is recognized but the vested interests of those who are practising a profession in India at the commencement of the new Constitution Act are safeguarded. Special provisions are made in regard to the recognition or otherwise of medical qualifications, a right of appeal to the Privy Council being provided for from the decisions of the Indian Medical Council.

It will be seen from a careful study of the above that in the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the agitation set afoot by the representations of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in 1928 has found a most magnificent consummation. It would be easy to show that within the framework proposed not only are the existing points of vantage occupied by the European commercial community sought to be retained but even an honest endeavour of Indian commerce and industry for expansion in the future will become tabooed.

To take the very first proposal of the Joint Committee, namely, investing the Governor-General with a special responsibility to prevent penal discrimination against British imports. The operation of the safeguard will be determined by the "intention" of a particular trade policy, and the sole judge of the intention will be the Governor-General. Suppose the future Government of India decided to place a valuable contract for stores purchase in a foreign country and not in the United Kingdom on the ground either of cheapness or the quality of the stores to be purchased. Shall it, or shall it not, come within the mischief of this safeguard particularly as it includes protection against indirect discrimination by means of "differential treatment of various types of products"? Then again, suppose India wanted to conclude a trade agreement with a third party in respect of goods which might have formed the subject of an agreement between the United Kingdom and India but which, nevertheless, is concluded with the third party because it is able to offer greater advantages in the opinion of the Ministry of Commerce. Turning to the Report of the Joint Committee in this regard, we find, in paragraph 346, the following principle enunciated: "The conception of reciprocity does not preclude either partner (i. e., the United Kingdom and India) from entering into special agreements with third countries for the exchange of particular commodities where such agreements offer it advantages which it cannot obtain from the other; but the conception does imply that, when either partner is considering to what extent it can offer special advantages of this kind to a third country without *injustice* (note this word; not, *injury*) to the other partner, it will have regard to the general range of benefits secured to it by the partnership, and not merely to the

usefulness of the partnership in relation to the particular commodity under consideration at the moment". The italics are mine, which show how dangerously vague and elastic this particular safeguard is, the effect of which would be to bar India from developing commercial relations with countries other than the United Kingdom whenever the pressure of British commercial interests would make it appear that they are in a position to supply the custom of India in the particular direction which forms the subject of negotiations with the third country. If it is pointed out that the third country is in a position to offer certain advantages in return which the United Kingdom is not able to offer, the reply would most likely be that the general range of benefits derived from India's partnership with Britain is, even without those advantages, greater than those derived from the third party. If India still persists in continuing the negotiations, it would then be easy enough to suggest that the "intention" of the policy contemplated is to injure the interests of the United Kingdom, and the negotiations would be stopped by virtue of the Governor-General's special responsibility.

It is possible that this case is a far-fetched one, that it is designed particularly to prevent a political application of the weapon of tariffs to compel Great Britain to make concessions to India. Even from this point of view, the safeguard is a silly one. We have heard British merchants and industrialists themselves declare that no amount of safeguards can compel a people to buy goods which they would not buy. But the days of bullies are not gone. There was a time when the "nabobs" of the East India Company dictated their own price to native merchants and forced them to accept it. Open threats of violence have now given way to a refined form of bullying. And if Britishers are suspicious of our intentions, we have equally a right to be suspicious of their intentions. We have heard it stated by more than one exponent of the British board of economic imperialism that the Fiscal Convention should be abrogated and that the Secretary of State should re-assume his functions as the arbiter of India's trade, as the prelude to which the duties on British cotton textiles should be abolished. Do we stand in need of any justification if, in these circumstances, we are troubled by unwelcome reminiscences and prepare for the worst? The skeleton in the cupboard may, after all, return to life again.

Under the Joint Committee's scheme of safeguards against administrative discrimination, the responsibility of the Minister to the Legislature would be illusory. Dyarchy failed because Ministers had not had funds enough to carry through beneficent programmes of economic and national development. In the scheme of the Joint Committee, the solvency of the Ministers would not improve; on the contrary, the weight of some of the "special responsibilities" of the Governor-General and Governors would render any active forward policy of development such as would commend itself to the electorate impossible. Such a policy of development would include, as the most important part of the programme, a

policy of rapid industrial development. But the way is blocked by British capital, British trade and British industrialism. They offer a competition that is deadly in its effect. The recommendations of the Joint Committee in regard to commercial safeguards will perpetuate that competition against any attempt by Indian commerce to get round it, whether it is competition offered by British imports or products of British firms doing business in India.

I have pointed out, in an earlier paragraph, that the present position of British commerce in this country is due to the early start that it had obtained, and that start had in most cases been a "privileged" start, by which I meant that the early history of British business in this country is one of unfair concessions, unjust privileges, and discriminatory treatment. These privileges, concessions and discriminatory measures were necessary in the interests of Britain because she could not otherwise compete with Indian manufacturers and Indian shipping of those days. Today, British commerce cannot hold its own against the commercial enterprise of other countries. She has, therefore, very substantial grounds to be afraid of India's political competition. She knows that there cannot be any competition between a deformed Dwarf and an oversized Giant. That is what the reciprocity clause between India and British commerce amounts to. The dwarf will have to gather sufficient strength before he can hope to meet the giant on his own terms. The giant must see that the dwarf remains a dwarf. Suspicion faced by suspicion !

That is the whole psychology behind the idea of commercial safeguards. They have their parallel also in financial safeguards. Every country has interest in preserving her own credit and honouring her obligations to the foreign creditor. Every investor, on the other hand, who invests his funds in foreign countries take the attendant risks which emergent situations may reveal. Both these presumptions are ignored in the scheme of financial safeguards. Otherwise there is no justification for thinking that India will deliberately unbalance her Budget in order to injure the British investor. It might be said that the safeguard provides for an exceptional case, an emergency. But if that is so, why not limit the functions of the Governor to advising the Minister as to the right course of action, and leaving the responsibility of the actual decision to him ? Such a view applies, *mutatis mutandis*, in the case of commercial safeguards. Goodwill is the best of commercial safeguards. Even if there is suspicion of the bad faith, it could only be intensified by suspicion on the other side. It is significant that in the whole course of Indo-British relations, there had not been a single instance of a discriminatory measure in this country, to which Indians have been a party, except, perhaps, the Indian Coastal Traffic Preservation Bill. But that was a measure designed to develop Indian shipping, a line of development which has been followed by almost all other maritime countries. Its intention was not discriminatory, and yet, on the flimsy basis of that single piece of proposed legislation, the whole framework of commercial safeguards has been assiduously built. If

the Haji Bill was discriminatory, the whole of the protective tariffs which India has adopted would be discriminatory. The point is that Great Britain is proceeding upon an entirely gratuitous assumption of bad faith. It provides the weakest link in her defence of the proposals for constitutional reform.



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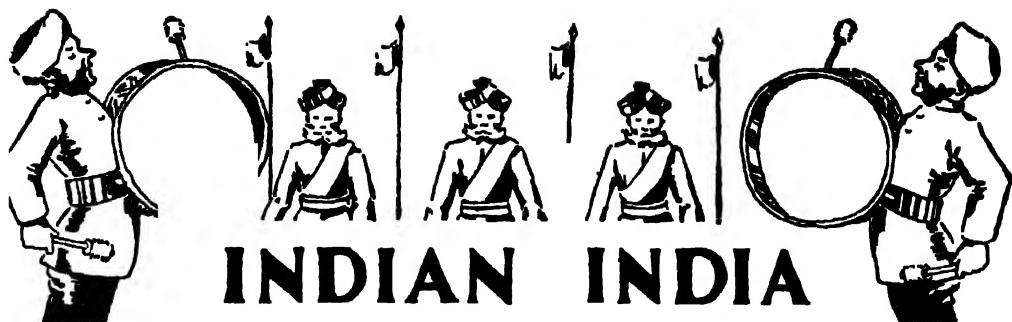
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NEPAL

Negotiations have been completed for the institution of a fund known as Bhim Chhatravitti Kosha for the welfare of Nepalis domiciled in India by Major Netra Jung Thapa, Bara Hakim of Ilam, under the authority of Maharaja Juddha Shum Shere Jung Bahadur Rana, the present Prime Minister and supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal. A sum of Rs. 28,000 has been invested in Government promissory notes of the face value of Rs. 32,600, the interest of which is to be spent in giving stipends to deserving and poor Nepali students for receiving higher general and scientific education.

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HYDERABAD

A succession of stable budgets proclaims the phenomenal success of the scheme of departmentalisation of finances inaugurated by Sir Akbar Hydari, Finance Member to the Nizam's Government in 1332 Fasli. A surplus of 30.33 lakhs as against the budgetary estimates of Rs. 22.03 lakhs accrued in 1342 F., and a surplus of Rs. 31.67 lakhs as against the budgeted surplus of Rs. 16.64 lakhs in 1343 F. The surpluses in the last 12 years would have amounted to Rs. 849.03 lakhs and the departmental savings to Rs. 174.26 lakhs, making a total of Rs. 10.23 lakhs. Of this sum of Rs. 10.23 lakhs about one-third (Rs. 311.58 lakhs) was spent on the purchase of the railway ; Rs. 67.59 lakhs has been utilised for starting the industrial fund the object of which is to help the industrial development of the State. Since the inauguration of the scheme Rs. 212.81 lakhs has been given to the Hyderabad City Improvement Board and the district and city municipalities, and Rs. 194.20 lakhs for district roads and

buildings. 'The nation-building departments like education, public health, archaeology, co-operative credit, etc., have obtained 39.58 lakhs, the revenue-earning departments, general administration, etc., Rs. 24.55 lakhs, and the departments of defence and internal security Rs. 7.18 lakhs. The expenditure on account of marriages and tours of the princes amounting to Rs. 30.58 lakhs has also been financed from this source without disturbing the normal budget.'

* * * * *

Major-General Walashan Shahzada Azam Jah Bahadur, the Heir-apparent, recently inaugurated the electrification of the Nizamabad town which has been carried out at a cost of slightly over two lakhs of rupees.

Later (December, 4) the Prince signified his appreciation of the Ayurvedic system of medicine by performing the opening ceremony of the Nizam Ayurvedic Central Dispensary at Hyderabad.

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Important tentative decisions were taken by the Nizam's Government with reference to sugar cultivation and its manufacture in the State arising from the report thereon by Mr. Srivastava, sugar technologist to the Imperial Institute of Agricultural Research. At a meeting held recently of inter-departmental heads concerned it was tentatively decided that early steps should be taken to float a company to which should be entrusted the work of establishing a sugar factory at Durki in Nizamsagar area with an authorized capital of Rs. 23 lakhs (Hyderabad currency) of which 17½ lakhs should be issued and financed as far as possible by Hyderabad money, paying special consideration to the interests of the small investor and more particularly to those of the local cane-grower.

The cane for factory will be mainly purchased from local growers apart from that grown on company's land in Nizamsagar area for which purchase of nearly 2,500 acres is recommended at the first instance with more lands to be taken on lease as standby for any shortage in the supply of cane. The question of fixing the minimum price for cane may also be taken up.

Besides this large-scale organisation, arrangements will be made for setting up small factories by cane-growers themselves, worked on a co-operative basis, and sugar-cane cultivation and *gur* making will be organised as cottage industry.

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According to the administration report of the Mines Department of the Hyderabad State for the year 1342 F., there was a fall in the total output during the year, to the extent of 21,222 tons against an output of 7,47,387 of the previous year, although individual collieries like the Tandur and Kanala Collieries were able to increase their production. Coal and cement recorded a decrease from 1,31,108 tons in the past year to 1,12,259 tons in the year under review with a consequent decrease in royalty by Rs. 16,988. On account of the low price of stones the income from the

quarries, in spite of their extended operation, showed a decrease of Rs. 1,270 compared with last year's receipts.

The total amount of royalty received by the Government increased from Rs. 1.05 lakhs in the previous year to Rs. 1.11 lakhs in the year under review.

BARODA

On the recommendations of their Revenue Department the Baroda Government have ordered revenue remissions to the agriculturists of four talukas of the Amreli District to the extent of Rs. 81,000 out of the total Government dues of Rs. 2.85 lakhs. They have further ordered that till the end of the current official year the collection of the past arrears of land revenue in all the villages that come under the operation of the order amounting to Rs. 67,000 as also the instalments due this year in repayment of Takavi debts and other loans and their past arrears, will be suspended. The concessions mentioned in the order also include the suspension of the execution of the decrees of the civil courts, agricultural *pedhis* (banks) and co-operative societies subject to the proviso that the creditor will be at liberty to attach the property of the debtor in lieu of his dues.

MYSORE

At the Dussera session of the Representative Assembly, Dewan Sir Mirza Ismail voiced a real grievance of the States in general and some grievances of the Mysore State in particular. He said :

"The Imperial Legislature will be largely concerned in future, even more than in the past, with economic questions affecting the entire country. It will exercise a potent influence in the settlement of these questions under the new Reforms. At present, the States have no voice even in regard to matters which affect them as deeply as they do British India. Take, for instance, the Silk Industry. The Government of India have recently passed a measure to afford some protection to the industry against foreign competition. Was our voice heard in the Legislative Chambers which disposed of this question ? The same story can be told with regard to the Iron and Steel Duties Act of 1934. Surely the States cannot any longer accept a position in which they are so completely ignored.... ."

"If an all-India Federation is to be a distant goal, as seems not unlikely from the present trend of events, some interim arrangement should be devised for giving the States an effective voice in the settlement of all those questions, economic and financial, in view of the fact that they are as much interested as British India. Nor need there be any further delay in the settlement of such questions as the subsidies and retrocession of territory."

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In the course of the same address, the Dewan referred to the progress of Maternity and Child Welfare work in the State from the days of Her Highness the late Maharani 'who set Mysore on the right path in this matter many years ago' :

"As far back as 1880 there was established in Mysore the Women's Hospital that bears her name, and in the closing years of her life there was laid by one of her sons the foundation stone of the magnificent new Hospital in Bangalore, which is also to bear her name and which will be one

of the finest in India. Meanwhile her revered brother, Rajaseva Dhurina the late Sir M. Kantaraja Urs, in 1923, set the example of endowing an organisation for Maternity and Child Welfare by leaving a sum of Rs. 1,20,000 to establish the Gunamba Maternity and Child Welfare Trust. It is very gratifying to see the extent to which these noble examples have been followed. In the past ten years, donations to the extent of no less than nine lakhs of rupees have been given by private citizens for the construction of hospitals in various parts of the State. The Government have also played their part. Employment of midwives has been extended, and special arrangements are being made for such lady doctors as there are in the State to extend their activities by visiting places within reach of their headquarters. Maternity and Child Welfare work is also advancing. We have now no less than fourteen centres for work of this kind. In the Baby Week for the last two years between seven and eight thousand babies have come under the expert scrutiny of doctors in each year, and Mysore has been ranked in the second, first and third places, respectively, in the All-Empire Competition in 1932, 1933 and 1934."

While appealing for further extension of voluntary work in this sphere, the Dewan Said :

"What I feel is that we must not leave this matter to the generous impulses of a few individuals. It is a matter that must stir the conscience of the whole State. That is why I have given my support to an appeal on behalf of the Red Cross Society to all Municipalities, Co-operative Societies and Village Panchayats to lend their aid in combating the ignorance which is responsible for so much suffering, and in establishing the Maternity homes and Child Welfare centres, which are necessary to reduce the suffering that exists."

As urgent measures of agricultural relief, the Government have sanctioned the grant of Takavi loans to the extent of one lakh of rupees to *Shikmidars*, *Mulgenidars* etc., against suitable securities covering the loans and to tenants having no saleable interest in land on the joint liability of the tenants and their landlords. The rate of interest will be reduced to 4 per cent and the maximum amount of loan to be granted to each individual will not exceed Rs. 100. The scheme will be in force tentatively for one year. As there is already a provision of Rs. 80,000 in the current year's budget under "Takavi Loans", a demand for a supplemental grant of Rs. 20,000 to make up the one lakh required for the purpose will be placed before the Legislative Council at its next meeting.

The Mysore Government have constituted a Board of officials and non-officials to advise them on all questions of industrial or commercial importance which may be referred to it or which may be taken up for consideration on its own initiative. They have nominated 12 non-officials on the Board, whose term of membership will be three years.

It may be recalled that, under orders of the Government, payment of Land Improvements and Takavi Loans instalments was suspended in 1933-34 when such repayment was found to be unduly burdensome, and when the payment of one or two instalments was thus postponed, all the remaining instalments due on the loan were also postponed for one

or two instalments periods and no additional interest was charged by reason of the suspension.

The Government have now, on the recommendations of the Revenue Commissioner, decided to continue the above concessions to the agriculturists in 1934-35 with the exception of that relating to payment of additional interest, holding that the recovery of interest need not be waived as it is likely to tempt people who can afford to pay to withhold payment.

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The Mysore University propose to introduce journalism as one of the subjects for study in the Intermediate and B. A. Examinations.

KASHMIR

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir has given his assent to the Suppression of Immoral Traffic Bill, which was passed by the State Assembly at its last session.

It is understood the Government intends establishing two rescue homes, one at Jammu and the other at Srinagar, besides other forms of shelter to the rescued.

TRAVANCORE

The Travancore Government have under their consideration the question of developing the fishery resources of the State. At present the fisheries are worked as a section of the Agricultural Department mostly by men recruited from the clerical staff. The Government contemplate to make a separate department of it and place it in charge of specialists in pisciculture, men trained in improved and scientific methods of curing and preserving fish.

The importance of fisheries to the State is evident from the fact that in 1932 M. E. (1932-33) 2,30,756 cwts. of fish and fish products were exported, valued at Rs. 27,50,661. Of the quantity exported edible fish alone amounted to 1,60,506 cwts. The State Exchequer is benefited to the extent of Rs. 21,050 per year, calculated on the basis of the figures for the past five years.

The question of reorganisation of the Department has assumed considerable importance owing to gradual decline in the revenue under this head.

KAPURTHALA

The Government of India have acceded to the proposal of the Maha-raja of Kapurthala for lending the service of one by their officers to act as His Highness's Chief Minister who might overhaul the entire machinery of the State. They have accordingly sanctioned the appointment of Colonel Fisher of the Political Department as Chief Minister of Kapurthala for two years. Colonel Fisher is expected to take up his new appointment by the end of the current month.

RAMPUR

Replying to the address of welcome which was presented to His Highness the Nawab of Rampur on his return from the recent European tour by the newly constituted Municipal Board of Rampur, His Highness said that he had his beloved subjects constantly in his mind during his tour and it was his earnest desire to see them happy, contented and prosperous. He had every sympathy with the Board and regretted his absence from the State at the time of its inauguration. The Raza Sugar Factory, which, he was glad to say, was doing well, had been opened to help his subjects financially and he was glad to announce that a yet larger sugar factory was expected to be started in the State in 1935. Technical education and industries had been introduced in his State and they would be extended and improved much further in order to provide greater employment to his subjects. He had sanctioned the transfer of the Municipal share of receipts of certain heads of income from other departments to the Board. The question of opening public parks and starting a drainage scheme were receiving his Government's careful consideration. Committees would be formed sympathetically to consider what heads of the income of other departments should be transferred to the Municipal Board. In conclusion His Highness thanked the Board for its feelings of loyalty and devotion.

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The Nawab of Rampur has issued a *firman* constituting a State Council which would be responsible for the administration of the State under His Highness's guidance.

The Council will deal with all State affairs except judicial matters and those specifically reserved for His Highness's orders. There shall be complete separation between His Highness's Civil List and the State Finances.

INDORE

A number of legislative measures of importance have recently been introduced by the Holkar Government. The Marriage Expenses Control Act has been introduced to put a check to very heavy marriage expenses. The law controlling the marriage of old persons to young girls has been amended. A new Code of Criminal Procedure has been framed on the model of the British Indian Act with a view to a speedier and more efficient administration of justice. The sessions judge has been given powers to pass death sentences subject to confirmation by the High Court. A clause relating to proscribed literature has been introduced with provision for an appeal to the High Court when any newspaper, literature, etc., has been proscribed by the Government.

Arrangements have been made for regulating the conduct of provident insurance companies in the State through the Indore Provident Societies Act.

TRIPURA

An imposing new residence for His Highness the Maharaja of Tripura has been constructed in Ballygunge Circular Road, Calcutta, on the site of a former residence. It is a happy blend of Indian and European styles of architecture, with a slight predominance of the Indian. It is laid out with a Mogul garden, the main feature of which is an illuminated colour-changing fountain whose water passes into a lotus-shaped basin and thence to pools at either end of the garden. The main entrance leads to a vaulted corridor giving access to a circular hall. The State drawing room and the dining room, the latter accommodating some 40 diners, are, in respect of furnishings and decorations, in the best of style and taste. The private suite of His Highness is furnished in Indian style and that of Her Highness in the French. A marble bath room with coloured fittings is a special feature of both the suites.

GONDAL

Replying to the address which was presented by the people in connection with the Golden Jubilee celebration of His Highness's rule, the Maharaja of Gondal made, among others, the following observations on the aims and objects of the various members or parts of the State :

"As the head of the State and the senior member of a family of over two lakhs, the maxim I always keep in view is "others before oneself and one's duty above all." The guiding principle for those in State service should be, to be faithful to their salt. To the members of the public, I say, be true to yourselves by being loyal to the State. And as for us all, three components of the State, let us bear in mind Gondal above all and continue to co-operate whole-heartedly in making Gondal's greatness greater."

LOHARU

His Highness the Nawab of Loharu has recently been married to his cousin Sahibzadi Sara Sakina Banu Begum, eldest daughter of Sahibzada Mirza Atizazuddin Ahmed Khan of the Indian Police.

In honour of the occasion a durbar was held at Farrukh Manzil Palace and a salute was fired. There are great rejoicings among the State people on this family alliance.

PRINCES AND REFORMS

At the conclusion of the informal conference of Ministers of Indian States, the Standing Committee of Ministers have issued a statement in which they express the view that the Joint Select Committee's Report constitutes in many ways an advance on the White Paper proposals from the States' point of view, particularly as far as financial and provincial provisions are concerned and that in general the recommendations should prove acceptable to the States, subject to certain important reservations. It is assumed, however, that no final opinion can be formed nor the States' attitude finally determined until the completion of the picture in the shape of a Bill.'

Matters of Moment

THE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

The Assembly elections are now over, and excepting the result of one election and that of one bye-election due to the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. B. N. Sasmal in the hour of his triumph, the composition of the elected element of the House is now determinable fairly accurately.

The two well-organized parties which fought the elections are the two wings of the National Congress, representing the nominees of the Congress Parliamentary Board and those of Nationalist party. The only points of difference between the official Congress Party and the party put up by the Malaviya group is that relating to the Communal Award. While the former has been officially advised neither to vote for nor against the communal question, the members nominated by the Malaviya group are committed to the rejection of the Award. On all other questions they are expected to vote as one political bloc.

At the moment, the strength of the different parties appears to be—Congress—44, Nationalists—9, Others—53. The actual party alignment will depend on how the 'others' ally themselves with one or the other of the groups. A number of Hindu Independents, a few Sikh votes, and a handful of Muslims together with certain special constituency members, are expected to side with the Congress, thus giving them a clear majority among the elected members. In order to secure a majority in the whole House, the Congress Party will require 73+1 or 74 members; that is, they will require 21 members to side with them from the "Others". That is a very difficult bargain to settle and the chances are that they will fail to secure this majority in a House in which all the parties are fully represented. The records of the Assembly during the days of Pandit Matilal Nehru show, however, that even on big occasions, the number of absentees could be more than 20 which used to be almost wholly on the other side than the Congress on practically all occasions. Assuming similar absences in the next Assembly, it will not be improbable that the Congress party will carry all the members on which they may have set their heart, for in that case, they will require only ten to fifteen votes from the other side to obtain a working majority.

On one important point the victory of the Congress seems to be assured, and that is in regard to the rejection of the J. P. C. Report. Liberals and Congressmen, Hindus and Muslims, in fact, all shades of

political opinion, have expressed themselves strongly against the fundamental propositions of the Report. In these circumstances, we shall not be surprised if the National Demand Resolution is also adopted by a majority.

On another point the issue seems to be pretty clear. The meagre numbers in which the Nationalist Party has been returned show that a resolution on the Communal Award question is not likely to be accepted in the House. For, if the official Congress Party remain neutral as they are enjoined to do, the rest will declare themselves overwhelmingly against any change and so the resolution will either have to be withdrawn or suffer the ignominy of a heavy defeat.

Two of the lessons of the elections should not be missed. One relates to the overwhelming support which the Nationalists have secured in Bengal and in the Punjab. In Bengal, all the elected Hindu seats have been captured by the Nationalist Party. These are the two provinces where the question of the Communal Award has most strongly agitated the mind of the Hindus. The Poona Pact has given, in addition, an unwanted and unnecessarily heavy weightage to the depressed classes at the cost of the caste Hindus of Bengal. In the Punjab, the Hindu-Sikh-Muslim triangle has been solved by giving statutory majority to the Muslims without any thought being given to the influence, position and traditions of the other two communities of the province. Therefore, though in the Assembly as a whole, the vote on the Communal Award may suggest general support for it, it is in reality on record that the votes of Bengal and the Punjab are definitely against it. Even Lord Zetland has been forced to recognize the validity of the position taken up by the Hindus of the Punjab and Bengal.

The other lesson which the elections press upon the notice of all concerned is more general in its character. Since the Swarajists withdrew from the Assembly, the sessions of the Indian Legislature have been conveniently utilised by the Government to secure the passage of a series of the most drastic legislation known in the history of any country. We do not suggest here that these laws were not necessary in the interests of peace and order, any more than we say that they were essential and that no other avenues were open to the Government to ensure respect for law and constitutionality. But we do suggest that the claim of the Government that public opinion in India had approved of these repressive measures had no substance behind it. The stalwarts of the last regime have fallen like nine pins in the last election. There has been, for instance, no more spectacular defeat than that of Sir Shanmukham Chetty, the champion of Ottawa, the ex-President of an effete Assembly. In fact, practically all the sitting members of any importance have been unseated by their Congress or Nationalist rivals. In a good many cases, their security deposits have been forfeited. These facts tell their own tale, and it is hoped that the Government will be more cautious in the future before they make such extravagant claims.

CONGRESS REJECTS THE J. P. C. SCHEME

As was expected, the Working Committee of the Congress at its meeting in Patna held in the first week of December has decided to reject the Joint Parliamentary Committee's scheme of constitutional reform.

The meeting which was held jointly with the members of the Congress Parliamentary Board on the 6th December, passed the following resolution on the subject :—

"Whereas the Congress has, after full and earnest consideration, resolved that the scheme of the future Government of India as adumbrated in the White Paper be rejected and the only satisfactory alternative is the constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly ;

"And whereas the said rejection and demand for Constituent Assembly has been endorsed in the most clear and unambiguous manner by the country at the recent elections to the Legislative Assembly ;

"And whereas the proposals made in the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report are in several respects even worse than those contained in the White Paper and have been condemned by almost every shade of public opinion in India as reactionary and unacceptable ;

"And whereas the Joint Parliamentary Committee's scheme, designed as it is to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and exploitation of this country by an alien people under a costly mask, is fraught with greater mischief and danger than even the present constitution ;

"This Committee is of opinion that the said scheme be rejected even knowing that the rejection must involve the necessity of struggling under the present constitution, humiliating and intolerable as it is, until it is replaced by one framed by a Constituent Assembly in accordance with the Congress resolution on the subject ;

"This Committee requests the members of the Assembly to reject the scheme of the Government sought to be thrust upon India in the name of reforms and appeals to the nation to support the Congress in every step that it may decide upon to secure the national objective of Purna Swaraj".

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai has been elected as the leader of the Congress group in the Assembly.

It is our hope that the "steps" which the Congress may propose to take in the future for securing the national objective will no longer be in the direction of unconstitutional agitation and disobedience of the laws after the bitter lessons that have been learnt during the past few years,

CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN BENGAL

A Press note recently issued by the Government of Bengal on the Co-operative Movement refers to the success achieved by the policy of consolidation as compared to the policy of the extension of the movement on a rapid scale. The note, thus, is of general interest.

The policy of consolidation involves three things. In the first place,

it involves, in the words of the Press note, "a more extensive adoption of the system of the monthly repayment of interest". Secondly, it involves, on the constructive side, encouragement of subsidiary occupations such as cottage industries and of subsidiary crops such as sugarcane, potatoes etc., with a view to increasing the income and consequently the repaying capacity of the members. Thirdly, but not the least, the policy of consolidation involves, again in the words of the Press note, "a detailed investigation to pick out the wilful defaulters with a view to put pressure on them to repay their loans."

Another new feature of the movement has been the creation of the "co-operative administrative units" which are circles of 75 to 100 societies placed under the charge of an auditor under the supervision of the Inspector of Co-operative Societies for the area concerned. The circle auditor would be responsible for the audit as well as most of the administrative work of the societies including the collection of dues. An important and interesting function of the Auditor would be to keep "a record of the economic history of the members of the societies including the collection of dues". The whole idea of the scheme, which is a laudable one, is to secure a more intimate contact of the different departmental officers (who are expected to guide the movement) with the members of the village societies than has hitherto obtained.

The following figures constitute a measure of the success of the policy of consolidation :

	1933-34.	1932-33.
No. of societies	Rs. 23,667	Rs. 23,777
No. of members	" 8,19,728	" 8,17,828
Total working capital	" 17,16,45,283	" 16,33,70,004
Actual cash employed	" 12·1 crores	" 11·02 crores
Collection of Central Banks	" 8772 lakhs	" 75·97 lakhs.

Simultaneously with a strict pursuit of a policy of consolidation, efforts have been made and continue to be made to bring down the rate of interest on loans, and consequently, on deposits also. In the case of a number of Central Banks, conferences of depositors have led to remarkable results, leading to a reduction in the rates by as much as 3 per cent from the existing average rate of 7½ per cent. The borrowing rates of the Central Banks from the Provincial Bank present a problem of greater difficulty because of the large deposits bearing 7 per cent which the latter will have to pay in 1935-36. Efforts, however, have not been relaxed to secure such a reduction as may be found mutually possible.

It is part of the general policy that the benefit of the reductions would not be given to defaulters, that is to say, when such a reduction is brought about in the lending rate by securing a reduction in the rate on deposits.

The training of the members of co-operative societies through the agency of the Central Banks is also emphasised in the Press note.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF IN ITALY

Strange things sometimes happen, and an agreement between labour and capital on the question of the solution of the problem of unemployment is a sufficiently strange thing to deserve notice. That has happened in Italy and a series of measures have been agreed upon between the industrialists, on the one hand, and labourers, on the other, for the relief of unemployment, which might give a point or two even to President Roosevelt. These measures include—reduction of industrial labour to forty hours a week, abolition of over-time work, substitution, wherever necessary and possible, of female workers by male ones and of minors by adults, employment of women and children only for the kind of work suitable for them and in harmony with the exigencies of the factory and substitution of those who were superannuated by those who are unemployed.

It would be easily seen that a scheme like this would be defective in two ways. In the first place, the export trade in Italy had suffered on account of her adherence to the gold standard, and the reduction of hours to forty, by adding to the cost of production, would further hit her trade. Secondly, the scheme would immediately result in a reduction of income at any rate in certain individual families, particularly if the family were large. In the case of large families, the reduction would, indeed, be considerable.

To meet these two defects of the scheme, it has been agreed that a reduction in the hours of labour would be accompanied by a proportionate reduction in salary or wages. It argues for the patriotism of Italy's labour that they have accepted this cut in their wages in order that employment may increase and yet the country's trade may not suffer.

To meet the second objection, a National Fund has been instituted in Italy to which the employers and employees have been asked to contribute in the following manner :—the workers to contribute one per cent of their salary with a similar contribution by their employers, and over-time workers to contribute five per cent of their over-time wages with a like contribution by the employers. We think this latter contribution refers to the transitional period or to such work as would not be able to do without over-time engagement.

The sacrifice of the labourers is truly considerable. Not only have they agreed to a reduction of the average rate of earnings but have agreed to forego one per cent of their salary and five per cent of their over-time, and in addition, to the abolition of over-time. One would hope that this sacrifice would bear fruit and lead to a mitigation of unemployment before long so that the onerous conditions may be effective only for a temporary period.



Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi of Murshidabad.

Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi of Murshidabad

IT has become the fashion within recent years among a certain class of so-called "Politicians" to decry the capitalist and zamindar classes in season and out of season as a section of the community who have very little, if anything, to be said to their credit. Astute propagandists, these men take the greatest care to present a picture of these classes which is not merely unreal but deliberately false. Zamindars, for instance, are portrayed as idolent people whose one object in life is to extract as much pleasure as possible out of unearned incomes. The immense good that has been done for the country's welfare by the benefactions of the zamindar class is studiously ignored and every sort of fallacious argument is employed in their propaganda to prove that the zamindar class may well be dispensed with. It is not the purpose of this journal to waste space in attempting to refute arguments which are patently insincere and untrue and whose object is merely to belittle a class whose only fault is that they are endowed with a large measure of worldly goods than their critics. The best reply to this base propaganda is to present the other side of the shield, in other words, we give honour where honour is due by expressing appreciation of the services of those zamindars who have earned the gratitude of their fellow-beings by their generosity and their charity.

Such honour is unquestionably due to Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi, a descendant of the well-known Singhi family of Murshidabad. Mr. Singhi is the proprietor of extensive zamindaries in Bengal and Bihar. He is also the owner of a large colliery in Korea State in the Central Provinces and one of the foremost jute firms in Bengal (Messrs. Hari Sing Nehal Chand of 2, Church Lane, Calcutta). But it is not his possessions but rather his benefactions which has endeared Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi to his people. His wealth he has made available to all good causes particularly for the improvement of education, arts, crafts, etc. Thanks to his liberality and his donation of Rs. 12,500, a building is now under construction at Allahabad under the superintendence of Mr. Purushotam Das Tandon for the Hindi Shahitya Parisat. At Jiaganj in the Murshidabad district his liberality has made possible an operation theatre in the London Missionary Society's hospital. He was a Secretary of the Edward Coronation Inst. (Jiaganj), for several years and as such made great improvements. Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi's liberality does not end here. His mite to the C. R. Das Seva Sadan was a modest Rs. 10,000. He has

contributed Rs. 7,000 towards the construction of a hall in the Palitana Gurukul, which has been named after his father. A further sum of Rs. 3,000 was donated by him in the erection of a boarding house for students at Udaipur.

His war contributions consisted of purchase of war bonds to the tune of Rs. 3,00,000 and a contribution of about Rs. 15,000 to the Red Cross Society, during the Red Cross Sales at the Government House, Calcutta. A cause has but to be meritorious to secure a liberal grant from this high-souled zamindar.

Farther afield Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi has created the Singhi Jain Chair of Philosophy at Biswabharati Santiniketan, at Bolpur. The object of this chair is to carry on research in Jain Philosophy and to publish Jain literature of historical character, and that it will give a great impetus to this branch of learning goes without saying. Some valuable works have already been published and others are in course of publication.

Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi is a great patron of art and culture. His collection of art includes rare and historic paintings, manuscripts, coins, books, and jwelleries. On many occasions the organisers of various exhibitions throughout India have had to call upon him for loan of his art collections and he has always gladly responded to their request. In 1931 he was the recipient of a gold medal from the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan as a mark of appreciation of his unique collection. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (London) and also a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Bangiya Shahitya Parishat.

Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi is a prominent leader of the Svetamber Jain community. He was elected president of the Jain Svetamber Conference held in Bombay in 1926. He is taking keen interest and is one of the prominent working members of the Executive body of the all-India Exhibition of Indian Architecture and Allied Arts and Crafts to be held in Calcutta in February, 1935.

Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi's love of learning is shared in the fullest measure by his three sons. His eldest son, Sriman Rajendra Singh Singhi, is a Bachelor of Commerce, having passed the examination in 1927. Mr. Rajendra Singh Singhi, B. Com. Calcutta, has been appointed Foreign Correspondent of the State Export Institute, Warsaw (Poland). His second son, Sriman Narendra Singh Singhi is also a most successful scholar. He is a first class first with honours in B. Sc. of Calcutta University and later retained the same position by coming out first class first in M. Sc. of the same University. Sriman Birendra Singh Singhi, the third son, has taken up engineering and is a student at the Bengal Engineering College at Sibpur. Thus Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi is not only a gifted and educated man himself but is blessed with three noble sons who are endowed with their father's great qualities.

Mr. Bahadur Singh Singhi's fore-fathers came to Bengal from Rajputana in the latter part of the 18th century and settled at Azimganj.

in the Murshidabad district where they became domiciled. Mr. Singh himself was born at Azimganj in 1885 and is now in the prime of life. His father Sri Dal Chandji Singh was noted throughout his district and outside for his religious-mindedness, kindness and liberality—qualities that he imparted to his son and that are inherited by his grandsons. Mr. Bahadur Singh Singh received his early education in the Nawab Bahadur's Institution at Murshidabad and had since made the pursuit of knowledge one of the principal aims of his life. One has but to meet him to recognise how notably he has succeeded. Like all wise men he is most modest and impresses one with his absolute sincerity and great dignity. Indeed he is a man of whom the zamindars may rightly be proud.



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National Soap & Chemical Works Ltd., Calcutta.

A Young Shikari

Kumar Bishwendra Narayan Roy Chowdhury is a scion of the ancient and well-known zamindar family of Haripur in the District of Dinajpur, and is the youngest son of late Rajarshi Jogendra Narayan Roy Choudhury of hallowed memory. From his early boyhood he evinced uncommon ability and knack for hunting, and before he was a boy of sixteen summers, he acquired wonderful proficiency in hunting. He is at present only twenty-six years old and has, till now, killed eight tigers, one lynx and over two hundred crocodiles.



Kumar Bishwendra Narayan Roy Choudhury (Centre) of Haripur with his party of Shikaris.

The accounts of his hunting excursions are instructive and captivating and bristle with thrilling experiences. The biggest tiger and crocodile killed by him measured over nine feet and seventeen feet, respectively. During some of his tiger-hunting excursions he had hair-breadth escapes from death and it was due to his inborn tact, coolheadedness and presence of mind that he came out unscathed. He holds out the promise to maintain the noble and glorious traditions of such eminent shikaris as the late Maharaja Surja Kanta Acharjee, late Dharani Kanta Lahiri Choudhuri, late Kumud Nath Choudhuri, Raja Kirtyanand Singh, Babu Gnanda Prasad Mukherjee and others.

The Indian Educational and Cultural Films

BY RADHA RAMAN MANNA.

THE cinema, and particularly the talkie cinema, one of the marvels of modern science, have been making considerable progress and becoming more and more popular amongst all classes of people, particularly among students all over the world. Apart from its entertainment side, the talkie cinema is a potent force in assisting the intellectual and cultural development of the community. There can be no doubt that the cinema plays a very important part in spreading education among the children. "The cinema in Russia is looked upon as the most important factor in an all-embracing scheme of ideological education, and nothing but propaganda films are shown in Russian theatres or produced in Russian studios. The whole country has been divided into cinema districts. In each region there is a central producing studio which controls a series of smaller studios scattered over the region. The central studios are in turn controlled by All Union Cinema or Sojus Kins at Moscow"** "The film is one of the greatest media for education and for propaganda in the world to-day and its sphere of influence will steadily increase," observed recently the High Commissioner for Canada on the subject of British films.†

The cinema in India as in other countries of the world has come to occupy an unchallengeable place in the life of the Indians. For many years the question of the introduction of the Indian educational and cultural films by the film-producing companies in India, which will tend to educate the tender minds of the young cinema-goers, mostly students, and develop their intellectual and cultural faculties, has been discussed and every one agrees that something must be done about it, but nothing has so far been done in this direction. Now-a-days, a student has no real thirst for knowledge that might make a man of him and this want may somewhat be removed if the initiative be taken by some Indian film producers to produce educational and cultural films. Let us hope that some Indian film-producing concerns will take this matter up in right earnest for the removal of a long-felt want of the Indian students and of the general public and will give a lead in this direction by producing educational and cultural films and also news-reels as early as possible which, I dare say, will be equally welcomed like foreign educational films and news-reels.

* 'Democracy and the Press in India' by Mr. B. R. Sen in the "Modern Student" for Sept., 1934.

† "Empire Review", Sept., 1934.

These films will, no doubt, create an All-India market of their own in no time and the producers will also derive much profit from them owing to their heavy demand in this country and with the growth and development of Indian educational and cultural talkie films and news-reels, foreign films will get into lesser and lesser demands, day by day, as the average mass of students do not quite follow the foreign tongue and unaccustomed accentuation in foreign talkies. Indian students require such films as will suit their culture and tradition. Of course, geographical and scientific films will recognise no national or class distinctions but cultural films will mostly have to be based on the fundamentals of Indian culture.

In these days of scientific methods, the use of the educational and cultural films for students has received deserved attention of educationists in almost all Western countries and after careful experiments, educational and cultural films have been found to be the most useful and valuable of all visual aids in education hitherto discovered. English educationists take a very keen interest in the use of educational films for students as a part of their regular syllabus.

Arrangements if made for taking the students once or twice a month, as may be possible, by the school or college authorities to their respective local cinema houses exhibiting educational and cultural films to enrich the mind of their students by ennobling thoughts and encouraging events from the educational and cultural films, will be greatly appreciated by the educationists of eminence and leading citizens in general and the students in particular. It is to be hoped that this move will receive the strong support throughout the length and breadth of India owing to its great educative importance.

It might be mentioned in this connection that one of the oldest English educational institutions of Bengal, namely, the London Missionary Society's Institution, took a very keen and active interest in the use of educational films and students were entertained at shows where only educational films were shown.

The following note on "Films for Scholar" by Dr. C. W. Kimmins which appeared in the "Empire Review" some time ago will be of great interest to the readers and will impress upon them the necessity of the introduction of the talkie cinema for educational purposes :

"The advent of the talkie has vastly increased the potentialities of the cinema for educational purposes.

"The serious objection of a purely visual method of instructions disappears with the introduction of accompanying auditory sensations. The caption passes into the back-ground and the more intimate connexion of the human voice with the visual materials will be an advantage which cannot be over-estimated.

"The cinema is destined to occupy an ever-increasing position of importance in the education of the child and the present type of text book will eventually give place to one more closely associated with cinematographic requirements. Provided always that great care be taken to secure

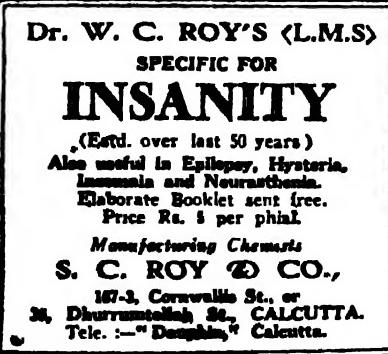
that pure diction be employed in the making of educational films, it should have a beneficent effect in raising the standard of good speech among our children.

"The prospects of a remarkable advance in educational procedure are very bright and it is to be hoped that we shall take full advantage of them".

It is, however, gratifying to learn that the Motion Picture Society of India which had been working for some years to safeguard the interests of the film industry in this country of ours in every manner possible, has taken up the matter in hand and produced some educational films.

It is also a matter of gratification to note that the recently started Bombay Talkies, Ltd., of which Mr. Himansu Rai is the head of the Production Department, contemplates to produce "Educational Films" along with others. "Educational Films produced and exploited by the Company", says its prospectus, "should give the much-needed impetus to the education of the masses. Its cheapness and comparative ease of distribution, its appeals through the eyes and ears needing no standard of literacy, is particularly suitable for conditions in India. It is the quickest method to educate the illiterate adult population". With this object in view the above Company will proceed with production "on behalf of the Departments of Agriculture, Hygiene and Education of the Central Government, Provinces and Indian States and public bodies". If things are made to run as promised, certainly they will go a long way to ensure the educational and cultural advancement of the masses through films.

This pioneer attempt on the part of the Motion Picture Society of India and of the Bombay Talkies, Ltd., deserves special commendation.



Our Agricultural Problem :

Some Aspects.

BY B. M. GIRHE, B. A.

I consider", said Swami Vivekananda, the sage of modern India, and torch-bearer of Indian spirituality, "that the great national sin is the neglect of the masses and that is one of the causes of our downfall. So long as the millions live in hunger and ignorance, I hold every man a traitor who having been educated at their expense, pays no heed to them". The masses stand to-day almost where they did at Swamiji's death, as regards both the food-supply and enlightenment of mind. How many thousands in India would be held traitors to-day by the test Swamiji set for them !

The Indian masses, who are predominantly agricultural, have long been known for their rank destitution and illiteracy, yet serious attempts to improve their position have hardly begun. Indian patriots should remember that all hopes of a prosperous India would be pure moonshine if, and so long as, its agriculturists remained uneducated. They should bear in mind that education and education alone will awaken them to the reality of their position, will rouse in them a desire to strive for a higher standard of living and enlighten them as to the ways of attaining it. An enlightened peasantry will solve the many difficulties that beset the Indian problem. Strenuous attempts should therefore be made to impress on their minds the importance of education and a concerted drive should be launched against their ignorance in which Government and non-Governmental agencies, the rich and the poor, the young and the old should all take part. Educated landholders specially, can do much. They should establish schools in the rural areas in tens and hundreds and give a tough fight to the monster of ignorance which holds the agriculturists in its deadly grip.

It is painful to note that this all-important question is not receiving the attention it deserves. There are no indications yet of the determination of our people and the Government to tackle it properly. Educated Indians are not stressing everywhere, as they should, the necessity of compulsory and free education. The Government as well as the local bodies have been making drastic retrenchments and their axe falls on the educational as much as on other departments. Private individuals or bodies, involved in financial distress, have likewise been curtailing their educational expenses or grants. It is much to be regretted that the

axe should have to be laid at education whose importance in any scheme of our national regeneration cannot be overestimated, specially because there are other departments or heads of expenditure which could be brought under the axe with less injury to the national cause. To what should I attribute the decision of the individuals or authorities, as the case may be, to cut down educational expenditure but their lack of foresight and sympathy and utter bankruptcy of statesmanship ? I am convinced that with more of these they could have found out means to spend more, and not less, on education and explored other fields of retrenchment besides it. What I want to emphasise is that education, particularly mass education, by reason of its peculiar importance in our national economy, is entitled to differential treatment and even when a scheme of retrenchment must be given effect to, it should be the least and the last to be axed.

The Indian agriculturist, however conservative he may be in both instincts and practice, is not averse to healthy changes provided steps are taken to bring the benefits of such changes home to them. Methods of scientific agriculture, use of improved manure, seeds and implements, proper rotation of crops, better modes of cattle-breeding have all to be taught to them. Demonstrations of practical farming on improved scientific lines have to be done in the rural areas. The Government Agricultural Department having chosen to establish and run their model farms in the district headquarters and failed to establish proper or efficient agencies in the villages for the propagation of agricultural knowledge or supply of improved manure, tools, seeds etc., have lost much of their utility to the agriculturists. In fact the work of the Agricultural Department has not even touched a fringe of the problem.

Neither do the agricultural schools and colleges prove to be of much use in advancing the cause of the agriculturists or help materially the solution of the great agricultural problem of India. One reason is the extreme paucity of these institutions; another is the marked tendency among the collegians to utilise these institutions for nothing more substantial than service. Very few of our graduates in agriculture think of engaging themselves in actual agricultural operations or devoting their lives to the cause of the poverty-stricken agriculturists.

A serious handicap to the improvement of Indian agriculture is the chronic indebtedness of its agriculturists. From the estimates made by the various Provincial Banking Enquiry Committees, it would appear that the total indebtedness of the agriculturists of all the provinces amounts roughly to Rs. 800 crores and that of C. P. agriculturists Rs. 36½ crores. Pathans and other money-lenders who finance our agriculture, advance money on exorbitant rates of interest. The rates charged by the former vary from 50 p.c. to 100 p.c. and sometimes to 150 p.c., and those charged by the latter from 12 p.c. to 50 p.c. The inevitable consequence is that agriculturists have to dispose of their holdings or portions of them in paying off their debts. The holdings which were none too big formerly

have been decreasing in size with the result that the question of consolidating them has been rendered very difficult to solve.

The Malguzars of the province are having a very bad time of it. On the one hand, agriculturists, under the stress of economic depression, cannot pay the land revenue to them, and on the other, drastic steps are taken against them, should they fail to meet the revenue demands of the Government in time. They are between Scylla and Charybdis ; they can neither realise land revenue from their tenants nor refuse to remit land revenue to the Government. Such is the dilemma of the Malguzars and such is the position of the poverty-stricken, indebted tenants. It is gratifying to note that the C. P. Government have at last moved to bring relief to the ill-fated tenantry of the province. They have done them a valuable service by sponsoring the Usurious Loans Bill. It has now been placed on the statute book and has been in force since the 15th June last. It is hoped that with the advance of years we shall hear less and less of the exactions of the Pathans and Sahukars and more and more of the disappearance of the attendant evils,

The two other devices which have already been resorted to for tackling the question of agricultural finance in the province are co-operative banks and land mortgage banks, the first for granting short term loans for productive purposes and the second for provision of long term loans for the same purpose and specifically for liquidation of old debts. We want more and many more banks of the first type, as their existence is a good indication of the appreciation by our agricultural masses of the spirit of self-help, value of united action and thrift—just the qualities that make a prosperous nation. And we want them to function efficiently and subserve the purpose adequately. As for the second type of banks thanks are due to the present ministry for having introduced them.

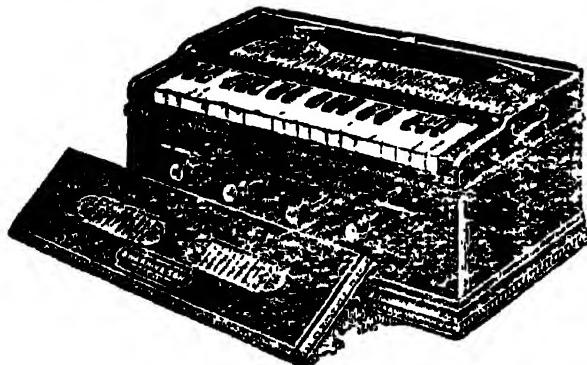
I only wish they could see their way to make a more generous provision of these institutions. Mr. B. G. Khaparde's bill, which was carried unanimously (August, 1934), in the C. P. Council demanded the establishment of only *three* land mortgage banks without loss of time. An amendment moved by Mr. Kashi Prasad Pande, requiring such banks to be established in every district of the province with a view to redeeming the agriculturists could not succeed. Mr. Khaparde pleaded that in the present state of their finances the Government could not undertake this heavy financial responsibility. One cannot but regret this halting and overcautious attitude of the Government having themselves taken the initiative to start these banks.

Our agriculturists and Malguzars must know that exclusive dependence on agriculture has been, and will continue to be, to their great disadvantage and that their welfare depends to a considerable extent on the development of subsidiary industries. Indeed, subsidiary industries for agriculturists are the pedestal on which our further economic plans must be based. Spinning and khaddar weaving are what Mahatma Gandhi has long held up before them as occupations for their spare

hours and months indeed, his faith in them is unshakable as the most appropriate means for ushering in our political and economic Swaraj. Recently he has thought fit to widen his economic scheme and to include in it a number of village industries such as dairy-farming, horticulture, goor and sugar-making, etc. At his instance a Village Industries Association has been established under the auspices of the National Congress as part of its constructive activities. Experts are busy in formulating a scheme of work for the Association. Everyone would heartily wish them success as it requires very little intelligence to see that a successful industries association holds up immense possibilities for good for India. I would only sound a note of warning. The Congress should never lose sight of the fact that the Government are already in the field through their Department of Industries although they have achieved very little as yet. They should see that the nation's energies are not frittered away through needless duplication and unhealthy rivalries. Whenever necessary and possible, they should co-operate with, and invite co-operation from, the Governmental agencies entrusted with rural development work. It would be a pity if they spoil a noble cause by useless exhibitions of petulance and sullen aloofness.



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Law and Legislation

U. P. ENCUMBERED ESTATES BILL

The U. P. Legislative Council has passed the Encumbered Estates Bill into law. Representatives of banking and commerce took exception to its provisions which they asserted were based on political rather than economic considerations. Neither could the zamindar members bless it as, according to them, the relief that was sought to be given by it was wholly inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. Mr. Blunt, the Finance Member emphatically declared that the Bill would benefit them although it would relieve a far greater proportion of smaller landlords paying a land revenue of Rs. 100 or less than bigger landlords.

The clause relating to *Damdupat*, the most vital one in the Bill, has undergone modification as a result of the discussions. The amended clause reads as follows :

"The amount of interest held to be due on the date of application shall not exceed that portion of the principal as may still be found due on the date of application and a special judge shall treat as principal any accumulated interest which had been converted into principal before December 31, 1916."

PUNJAB DEBT RELIEF BILL

The Punjab Indebtedness Relief Bill has been passed.

The trading and money-lending interests, who feel aggrieved by its provisions, are holding out threats of reprisal. If the Bill is placed on the statute book, money, they say, would be lent to any agriculturist, however circumstanced and this principle should particularly be enforced at the time of elections and recovery of land revenue. It is understood that the Punjab Trader's Association will lead a deputation consisting of representatives of various commercial and banking Associations, including Members of the Legislative Council, to wait on H. E. the Governor of the Punjab in this connection.

MADRAS HINDU RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS (Amending) BILL

Mr. V. T. Arasu, Member, Madras Legislative Council, has given notice of a Bill to amend the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act.

The Statement of Objects and Reasons thereof says that doubts having arisen as to whether an application under Section 84 of the Act filed by an aggrieved party in the court to set aside or modify the order of the Board on the question whether a mutt or temple is one to which the Act applies, also as to whether being simply called an application the court should take evidence as in a regular suit or merely confine itself to the evidence already tendered before the Board, the Bill

provides that, in stead of filing an application, the aggrieved party may file a suit in a sub-court to set aside or modify the order of the Board. The period provided for a suit to set aside the Board's order has also been reduced from one year to six months.

BENGAL, AGRA & ASSAM CIVIL COURTS (Bengal Amendment) BILL

Following the recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee and having regard to the improved capacity of their subordinate judicial officers and the need of economy in judicial administration, the Bengal Government seek through this amending Bill to invest, on the recommendations of the High Court, individual selected Munsifs of capacity and experience with powers to try original suits up to the value of Rs 5000 and to raise the Small Cause Court jurisdiction of some selected Munsifs and Subordinate Judges to Rs. 500 and Rs. 1000 respectively. As the Bill involves substantial changes of jurisdiction, it has been decided to circulate it to elicit public opinion thereon.

THE BENGAL WORKMEN'S PROTECTION ACT

The, Act, which has been passed at the recent session of the Bengal Legislative Council, is intended effectively to prevent the besetting of industrial establishments and similar premises, especially on pay days, by professional moneylenders for the purpose of recovering their dues as a first charge on the wages of workmen employed therein. It will, in the first instance, apply only to Calcutta and the districts of 24 Perganas, Hooghly and Howrah : the local Government reserve the option to extend it to any area by a notification in the Calcutta Gazette. The Act provides :

Whoever loiters at or near any mine, dock, wharf or jetty, railway station or yard or premises whereon any manufacturing process is carried on, in such manner or in such circumstances as to afford just grounds for suspicion that he is so loitering with a view to recover any debt from any workman employed in such mine, dock, etc., shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to six months or with fine or with both.

Offences punishable under the Act will be cognisable and bailable.

CALCUTTA IMPROVEMENT (Amendment) BILL

A second Bill to receive legislative sanction in the same session is the Calcutta Improvement (Amendment) Bill. Section 78 of the Calcutta Improvement Act, 1911, provides for the abandonment of acquisition of land not required for the execution of an improvement scheme in consideration of a special payment. Sub-section (4) provides that these special payments may be made in cash or the amount may be left outstanding as a charge on the land subject to the payment in perpetuity of interest at the rate of 6 per cent. When the Calcutta Improvement Act was passed in 1911, the rate of interest prescribed was 4 per cent. As the prevailing rates of interest rose during the War and the years following it, the rate was found inadequate and, in 1923, the act was amended and the rate was raised to 6 per cent. Government consider that in present conditions the rate is excessive. It seems to Government equitable that the interest payable on these payments should approximate to the rate of interest

which the Board has to pay for money borrowed to replace locked up capital. At the same time it is difficult in present conditions to fix a rate of interest which would be suitable for a number of years. The Bill, therefore, amends sec. 78 so as to provide that Government may, from time to time, fix the rate of interest by notification, subject to a maximum of 6 per cent.

LAW AND THE CHIT SYSTEM

Speaking on "Some Excursions in the Field of Law" at the Tinnevelly Bar Association, Mr. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, Principal Subordinate Judge, Tinnevelly, dealt with some aspects of law relating to the *chit* system. The chit or kuri, which plays an important part in the economic life of the Malabar people, is a co-operative organisation of mutual loan funds in which the members agree to contribute together a certain amount of money and each member gets in turn the whole contribution which may be used to the best advantage.

Mr. Aiyar said that the law of chits was at present largely governed by the ordinary law of contracts. But certain matters of law arising out of the working of the institution of chit were not clear-cut and had not become settled law. For instance, said the speaker where the prize winner in a chit happened to be the managing member of a family or an undivided father and had to give security over family property for his liability, regarding future payments to the Karaiswan, the question as to the liability of the joint family property for this purpose was an interesting point of law for which there was no authority and which had to be settled on first principles. According to the view of the lecturer, the whole of the chit-undertaking of the subscriber had to be taken as a joint family venture, the necessity of which had to be made out, if the joint family property was to be made liable for the security given for covering future instalments. Another possible view was the making of this liability depend on whether the money got was utilised for the purpose and benefit of the joint family. This view seemed to the lecturer to be too narrow and partial and not a correct one.

BILL TO AMEND THE INDIAN MINES ACT

It is understood that a Bill to amend the Indian Mines Act will be laid before the Assembly at its next session. The Bill will embody the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on Labour with some modifications. These recommendations dealt with such matters as the reduction of the maximum hours of work, the raising of the minimum age for employment and the constitution of mining boards. The interests concerned were consulted upon these questions during 1932-33.

THE BENGAL VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT (Amendment) BILL

The Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Bill has been referred by the local Legislative Council to a Select Committee.

The Hon'ble Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Minister for Local Self-Government, who sponsored the motion, said that by the introduction of union boards, the Government had succeeded in tapping enormous reserves of energy, commonsense and natural shrewdness, and had laid well and truly a foundation on which the superstructure of provincial autonomy could safely rest. Moreover, by the introduction of this system the Government

had been brought in touch directly with the villages and it had thereby removed one of the greatest defects in the machinery of provincial administration.

The system of union boards had worked quite successfully in the major portion of the Province. It had brought into existence very useful and valuable units of local self-government in which people belonging to the rural areas had taken a keen interest. The working of the Village Self-Government Act had created a useful and energetic band of workers genuinely devoted to the cause of local self-government and of rural uplift. These people had duly exercised the right of self-taxation and had tried to work the union boards in the interest of the rural population.

The working of the system had, however, revealed certain defects in the Act which should be remedied. Its amendment was also necessary to meet the advanced ideas of the people about local self-government and to bring the statute in line with the new Constitution.

The present Bill dealt with the municipal portion of the machinery of self-government and the provisions about union courts and benches, leaving completely untouched the watch and ward portion.

The principal provisions of the Bill related to the question of franchise, the qualifications for which had been lowered ; introduction of educational qualifications for voters which would bring in the educated people in the villages, though not owning property, within the union on the electoral roll ; extension of the term of the office of members of union boards from three to four years ; making the decision of the District Magistrate final in matters of union board election disputes ; empowering the union boards to spend for improvement of cottage industries on the same principle on which they had been allowed to undertake expenditure on measures for the improvement of agriculture, cattle breeding and irrigation ; appointment of a health officer of the type of a sanitary inspector or health assistant by unions individually, or where it is not possible, collectively ; empowering union boards to make grants-in-aid to agricultural and technical schools within their jurisdiction and to grant stipends to students, resident within their jurisdiction, joining technical or agricultural schools situated in the same district as the union. Other important changes proposed in the Bill are the substituting of dissolution in place of supersession of union boards in cases of incompetency or persistent default in performance of duty with a view to giving ratepayers an opportunity to give their verdict on the working of the union board as also to elect another body of members if the rate-payers wished to do so ; conferring exclusive jurisdiction on selected union courts and benches in certain classes of suits or cases triable by them, subject to certain safeguards such as the district magistrate's power to withdraw them from the union court or bench if, in his opinion, there were good grounds for apprehension that a fair and impartial trial could not be had in such court or bench ; authorizing selected union benches to impose fines up to Rs. 50 or in default imprisonment for a period not exceeding 14 days in place of a fine of Rs. 25 and imprisonment for a period of 7 days as at present, empowering the union benches to grant compensation out of the fines realized to complainants ; and finally conferring power on Divisional Commissioners for the removal of a member of a union court or bench, if it became necessary, without superseding the bench or court.

DETENTION TILL RISING OF THE COURT ILLEGAL

By holding as above in the course of his judgment in a criminal reference, Sir Courtney Terrel, Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, really took the Indian public and lawyers by surprise. To quote his exact words :

"The sentence of detention till the rising of the court is an unlawful sentence ; it is not a sentence of imprisonment at all. The legislature with wisdom has directed that offenders of this kind shall be punished and, in addition, if necessary, a fine may be added. Imprisonment means confinement in prison and not confinement in any place, where a judicial officer may think adequate in the circumstances. Therefore, the sentence of detention was illegal."

LEGAL EXISTENCE OF CHILD IN THE WOMB

'A child in the womb of his mother was considered both under the Hindu and English law to be a child in existence : he was therefore a minor entitled to the benefit of Sections 6 and 8 of the Limitation Act' was the verdict of a Full Bench of the Madras High Court in a case referred to them by Mr. Justice Ramesam and Mr. Justice Stone of the same court.

In a suit instituted in the court of the Sub-Judge of Vellore, Ranganath, the plaintiff, prayed that two alienations of his father made in June and August 1902, be set aside. He was born in December, 1902 and filed the suit in December 1924, whereupon the question was raised whether the suit was in time.

The Sub-Judge held that following the decision of 10 Lahore 713, the plaintiff, who was a child in the womb of his mother at the time of the alienations, was not entitled to the benefit of the provisions of Sections 6 and 8 of the Limitations Act, and that the suit having been brought more than 12 years from the date of the alienations was barred by limitation.

On appeal to the High Court, Mr. Justice Ramesan and Mr. Justice Stone doubted the decisions in 10 Lahore 713 and 60 M. L. J. 521 and referred the case to a full Bench which held as stated above.

EJECTMENT OF UNDER-RAIYAT

In Jasoda Kumar Ray Chaudhury and others vs. Abdul Rahaman and others Mr. Justice Nasim Ali of the Calcutta High Court held :

Where an under-raiyati lease is determined and the person holding such lease has ceased to be an under-raiyat when the new Bengal Tenancy Act (1929) began to operate, Section 48C, Provisos (1) and (2) does not protect him from being ejected by his landlord who has acquired that right under the old law.

The appeals arose out of three suits for ejectment filed in the Munsiff's court at Tipperah. It transpired from the evidence that the defendants were in possession of the lands for a continuous period of 12 years, partly before and partly after the Bengal Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1929, came into operation. Their Lordships held that, under these circumstances, they are not entitled to the benefit of the provisos (1) and (2) of section 48C of the Act as these definitely lay down that they must be under-raiyata when the new Act came into operation. Section 48C has not been made retrospective expressly, therefore the right acquired by the plaintiffs under the old law i.e. the right to eject the defendants has not been touched by Section 48C of the amended Act.

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Activities of Zamindars' Associations

NATIONAL AGRICULTURISTS' PARTY :

Branch formed at Benares.

A branch of the National Agriculturists' Party was formed at a well-attended meeting of zamindars, tenants, voters to the Provincial Legislative Council and sympathisers with the aims of the party, held on Monday, November 26 last, at the Mint House Hall of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur of Benares, under the presidentship of Capt Nawab Dr. Sir Mohammad Ahmad Said Khan, K.C.S.I., LL D., of Chhatari.

Prominent amongst those present were Capt. Raja Durga Narain Singh of Tirwa, Honorary General Secretary of the party, Rai Bahadur Vaidya Nath Das, Thakur Suraj Narain Singh, Thakur Kedar Nath Singh, Babu Manmohan Das Sah, Rai Govind Chandra, Syed Mohd Hussain, Rai Todar Mal, Rai Saheb Madhoram Sand, Sheikh Mohd. Ibrahim, Shah Abdul Hamid, Maulvi Mohd. Anwarl Ahsan, Thakur Jaggarnath Singh, Babu Mangla Pd. Singh, Babu Shri Nath Sah, Dewan Vizianagram-Raj.



The Nawab of Chhatari



Rai Bahadur Baidya Nath Das

Rai Bahadur Vaidya Nath Das, while welcoming the distinguished guests, zamindars and tenants dwelt on the necessity of the Party and explained its aims and objects. He said that God creates the universe and also brings about its destruction. The last earthquake was a visible example. There was also a mental earthquake in India and to combat it all the vital energies had to be collected and strengthened. He said that the fact that the Nawab of Chhatari had come from Aligarh

and the Raja Saheb from Tirwa to organize the party was sufficient to convince that the organizers were in earnest and they had the will to achieve their end. He exhorted the audience to co-operate wholeheartedly without any distinction of caste and creed and safeguard their interests in the future, because the goal is equally the same for Indians, either individually or collectively.

The Nawab Saheb of Chhatari then delivered his presidential address. He said that the most important question to be answered was as to what was the aim of establishing this Party and as to what was the characteristic which could distinguish this party from others already existing. The chief aim of the party was to obtain such a Swaraj constitutionally, in which the people could live in peace and prosperity and its distinguishing characteristic was that it had as its aim the service of the agricultural class. More than half of the Government's income was derived from the agriculturists, and never had good been done to them in the same proportion. The country had the Congress and other communal parties but they had one chief obstacle in their way. They did not keep the economic question as the foremost in their programme. Any party organized on economic principles had the good of all to consider and they could not be mainly concerned with either the Hindus or Mohammedans. The economic question brings about unity amongst all. Differences arise only when one party does not consider the aims of the other. That state of affairs could not arise in the N. A. Party. There is one chief aim and it is bound to bring about unity. It could not be a communal organization, because zamindars and tenants, whether they be Hindus or Mohammedans, had the same problems to solve and the same difficulties to encounter. He said that the same God was worshipped in the temples as well as in the mosques, and it was useless to quarrel in this matter. He said that with his 14 years' experience of the Provincial Government, he could easily say that in spite of all-round fall in prices there has been no decrease in canal dues, revenue and rent dues in proportion to the fall in prices, and since they had no organized party they could not bring about much good for the agricultural class through the Legislative Council. It was therefore necessary that zamindars and tenants should elect such representatives who could voice their feelings and bring about contentment and peace. He further emphasised that he was there neither to support the Government nor to speak against others, but he was telling the truth and it was for the audience to act according as they thought proper.

Babu Ananda Prasad Agrawal then read out his report in the course of which he traced the history of the movement from the Zamindars' Conference at Aligarh down to the date of the meeting.

The Raja Saheb of Tirwa in the course of his speech, which was fairly long, said that the zamindars should change their angle of vision and they should take part in the woes and weal of the tenants. He frankly said that because of the heavy assessment of land revenue and other taxes, the zamindars were hard-pressed. He urged the audience to establish a joint party of zamindars and tenants, which may take part in the forthcoming elections. His opinion was that if they could not achieve their goal through the J. S. C Report, they need not accept it. He further appealed for funds, so that concerted efforts could be made in all the 38 districts of the Agra Province.

Thakur Suraj Narayan Singh, Rai Todar Mal, Thakur Shiva Shanker Singh and Babu Mangla Prasad Singh then made short speeches.

It was then unanimously resolved that a Branch of the N. A. Party be formed in the Benares District. The election of office-bearers was postponed till the next meeting.

After a vote of thanks to the chair the meeting dissolved.

To meet the Nawab Saheb of Chhatari and the Raja Saheb of Tirwa, an At Home was given on the last, 27th November, at H. H. the Maharaja Bahadur of Benares' Nandesar House by the Maharajkumar of Vizianagram, Rai Bahadur Babu Vaidyanath Das, Babu Manmohan Das Sah, Rai Todaram, Rai Saheb Madhoram Sand, Syed Mohammad Hussain, Rai Govind Chandra, Babu Madhava Lal, Babu Anand Prasad Agrawal, Thakur

Jagannath Singh, Thakur Ganesh Prasad Singh and Babu Mangla Prasad Singh. The lawns were tastefully decorated and the Police band was in attendance.

H. H. the Maharaja Bahadur of Benares, Mr. G. M. Harpur, Commissioner, Mr. W. C. Dible, Collector and Mrs. Dible, Lieut. Col. N. S. Taylor, Officer Commanding and Mrs. Taylor, Mr. J. V. Lynch, Addl.



Raja Durga Narain of Tirwa



Babu Ananda Prasad Agrawal

Dist. Magistrate and Mrs. Lynch, Mr. J. Narain, I. C. S., Mr. S. M. Srivastava, I. C. S., Mr. R. H. Gregg I. P. S., K. B. Maqsud Ali Khan, Chief Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja, and other Civil, Executive and Military Officers and prominent *Raises*, zamindars and tenants of the district were present.

The chief guests were garlanded by Babu Anand Prasad Agrawal, Hon. Secretary, and they mixed freely amongst the invited guests. The At Home was a great success.

UNAO LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

The Unaо Landholders' Association held its annual celebrations on December 8 in a specially decorated Pandal erected for the purpose under the presidentship of Captain Nawab Dr. Sir MUHAMMAD SAID KHAN, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., M.B.E., of Chhatari. The Pandal was packed to its utmost capacity and the gathering consisted of Taluqdars, Zamindars, *Raises*, and a large number of tenants from the district.

Rai Bahadur Lala Brij Kishore, M. L. A., Taluqdar, Maurawan, while proposing the Nawab Sahib of Chhatari to take the chair, paid high tributes to the qualities of his head and heart.

Pandit Bal Krishna Shukla, Advocate, Unaо, seconded the resolution in eloquent terms. The Nawab Saheb then took the chair amidst thundering cheers and applause and was garlanded by Kunwar Guru Narain, Taluqdar, Maurawan, and President of the Association.

After a few recitations in Urdu and Hindi, proceedings began with an annual report of the Unaо Landholders' Association by its President, Kunwar Guru Narain. Before he read the report, he thanked the audience for their hearty co-operation and also Nawab Sahob for accepting his invitation and taking the trouble to come over to preside over the annual celebrations. He referred to the Nawab Saheb's official career and said that he reached his eminence by his ability, courtesy and love for his fellow-men. After narrating briefly the history of the association and its achievements during the year he exhorted the zamindars to organise themselves and take the tenants in their hands. If they lost this opportunity, their existence was bound to be at stake in future. He deplored the great indifference displayed by their brethren during the recent assembly elections, and regretted very much that only one of the three candidates set up by the National Agriculturists' Party came out successful. He appealed to the zamindars to enrol themselves as members of the association without any more delay.

The Nawab Saheb of Chhatari then rose to deliver his presidential address. He thanked the organisers of the meeting, specially Kunwar Guru Narain, for having selected him for the chairmanship of that meeting, because he belonged to a different province. He said that the motive with which they had gathered there was not to oppose any body or institution, but to organise themselves for their own benefit. They had assembled there not in a spirit of anger or hatred but in that of love and co-operation. To him the tenants were like milk cows. As long as they are carefully looked after, they give enough milk, but if they are left uncared for, they become dry. The zamindars could gain their sympathy by doing the smallest acts to them. For instance if there was a case of confinement in a tenant's house, and he required the assistance of a nurse, and if the zamindar is in a position to lend him a car and send for the nurse, the tenant and his family will be bound to him for ever. Thus by doing trifling acts, which, as a matter of fact, ought to be the duty of the zamindar, the zamindars can capture the hearts of their raiyats.

He exhorted the zamindars to be above communalism. Communalism in his opinion has proved more injurious to national progress than any thing else. He said that religion was a matter between the creator and the created. Its significance lies after death. Then why in one's life time one should be at daggers drawn with another in the name of religion. A zamindar should never bring in religion while deciding a dispute between a Hindu and Muslim tenant. He must be just and fair to them.

In the end he referred to the remarks made by the President of the association regarding his successful official career. He said that his success was wholly due to God and to the kindness of his brethren. Success or failure depends on the amount of co-operation one receives from one's fellow-men. People wondered at him, simply because he was the first Indian Governor, just as they are bewildered when they see quite a new thing. But he said that God willing a day would come when people would see many of their sons becoming Ministers and Governors. He cited a few lines from Shakespeare telling the audience that this world is a stage and all of us are mere actors. If one plays the part of a king one should not be proud; if the other is acting the part of a beggar, he should not be dejected. What is wanted is simply to play our part in the best possible manner.

With these words he finished his address and the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair by Pandit Bal Krishna Shukla.

The success of the meeting was largely due to the keen interest and indefatigable efforts of Sayed Hasan Raza, the Honorary Secretary of the association.

In the evening the Taluqdars and Zamindars entertained the Nawab Saheb at an At Home, which was well attended by the officials, leading lawyers, Taluqdars, and Zamindars of the district.

HOOGHLY DISTRICT LANDHOLDERS' AND TENANTS' CONFERENCE

On December 16 last, the landholders and tenants of the Hooghly district met under the presidency of Kumar Tulsi Charan Goswami, President Hooghly District Landholders' Association at Raja Kishori Lall Goswami Memorial Hall, Serampore, to confer together on the various political, economic, social and civic questions that confront them at the present time. It was a unique gathering—probably the first of its kind in Bengal—when landholders met tenants on a common platform to discuss and solve the many questions of common interest—questions on whose satisfactory solution depends, in a very real sense, the well-being not only of zamindars and ryots but equally of all sections inhabiting the district. The resolutions that were proposed and carried were as comprehensive as the meeting was representative. A few Government officials were found present to help the deliberations of the Conference with knowledge of the working of their respective departments. Some distinguished gentlemen from Calcutta also attended the Conference.

Prominent among those present were Maharaja Sir Prodyot Kumar Tagore, the Raja of Nashipur, Mr. Profulla Nath Tagore, Raja Kshitradeb Rai Mahasai, the Hon'ble Mr. S N Ghose Moulik, Mr. S. N. Mallik C. I. E., Mr. Tarak Nath Mookherjee, Mr. K. L. Gossain, Rai S. C. Mookherjee Bahadur, Rai Saheb Dwijen Maitra, Mr. Amar Mookherjee, Mr. J. K. Choudhuri and others.

In welcoming the delegates, the President of the Conference and the numerous gentlemen present Mr. Taraknath Mookherjee, Chairman, Reception Committee, said that the Conference has been called with a view to devising means for the welfare of the district as a whole, or to be

more specific, the ten lakhs of men and women inhabiting it. Economic needs of this vast mass of human beings are, no doubt, of prime importance. Improvement of agriculture and village sanitation, proper medical relief and spread of primary education, provision of good roads and water-supply, establishment of cottage industries, provision facilities and improved marketing of agricultural and industrial products, introduction of new crops and proper rotation of them, development of road, and river communications are some of the urgent needs of the rural people today.

The speaker recalled the past glories of his district and referred to the many distinguished names in the fields of religion, arts, literature, science and business and names noted for charity and munificence which could be claimed by it up to this day. He attributed the loss of the former glory and eminence to the decay of its villages. The eighty per cent of its people who live in the villages are leading a life of dire poverty and distress. They are a prey to a number of preventable fell diseases such as Malaria,

Mr. Taraknath Mookherjee

Small-pox, Cholera and Kala-azar. For want of suitable diet and proper medical treatment the

death-rate among them is on the increase. The rivers Saraswati, Kana, Dankuni (Khal) Kana Darkeswar have been silted up whose stagnant and polluted waters have become potent cause of disease and death. The Government, municipalities, district and union boards, to whose care the welfare of the masses is committed, should lose no time in making concerted move for the removal of the various causes that are responsible for their distress, degeneration and decay. At the same time the need of self-help must be impressed on them. Self-confidence must be restored to their drooping hearts so that they may be roused to the best of which they are capable. It is a hopeful sign that a desire for reorganising and rehabilitating village life has recently possessed the Government and the people and some steps are being taken in that direction. Societies, health societies, agricultural societies, sevashamites, village welfare societies and various forms of co-operative societies are being established throughout the district. Their number today is inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. An agricultural school has been established at Chinsurah and an industrial school at Hooghly. A district industries association has been established with branches at several places in which instructions in making umbrellas, shoes, cutlery, soap etc., are imparted. What is desired is an extension of activities in these directions.

In conclusion, the speaker condemned terrorism as anti-social and opposed to all canons of moral and religious law, and appealed for amity and cordial relationship among all sections of the people.

Kumar T. C. Goswami, in the course of a very instructive speech stressed the need of co-operation between landlords and tenants for the promotion of their common interests. That was he said, also the way to their mutual peace and contentment to the regeneration of the countryside and, through it, of the whole nation.

The following resolutions were then passed by the Conference.

1. "That this Conference strongly condemns the terrorist movement and appeals to the people of the district to offer their fullest co-operation to the District Organisation, already formed with a view to completely rid the country of the scourge."

2. "Resolved that the Govt. of Bengal be requested to withdraw the embargo registration of new Co-operative Societies, as there is ample scope for formation of Co-operative Societies on sound lines in many places in this district"

3. "This Conference urges the Government to establish without further delay one Land Mortgage Bank in the District of Hooghly."

4. "This Conference again urges the Government to postpone the realisation of Settlement costs where it has not yet been actually started."

5. "That the Government be moved to take up the reclamation of the Saraswati River and other dead rivers in the district, whose present condition has been a source of great hardship in the matter of irrigation and has been greatly instrumental in impairing local sanitation"

6. "Resolved that the Department of the Public Health, Govt. of Bengal, be moved to give quinine for free distribution by Union Boards and other local bodies."

7. "This Conference requests the District Board to spend more money on rural sanitation, on prevention and treatment of malaria and on establishment of village dispensaries."

8. "This Conference requests the Government to empower the District Boards and other local bodies to undertake small irrigation and drainage schemes."



Kumar T. C. Goswami

9. "This Conference welcomes the establishment of the Agricultural School at Chinsura, the Technical School at Hooghly and of the District Industrial Association, and draws the attention of the people of the Hoogly District to the useful works they are doing, and invites the co-operation of the people in furthering the objects of these institutions."

10. "This Conference requests the District Board, the Municipalities, the Union Boards and the District Agricultural Association to take necessary steps for the improvement of cattle and appeals to the Zamindars to provide, wherever possible, adequate pasture lands."

11. "This Conference impresses upon the people, the necessity for a reduction of expenditure in connection with religious and social functions, in accordance with the change in social and economic conditions in the country"

12. "This Conference earnestly requests the Government to ascertain the real causes, that have forced many holders of properties within the Arambagh Sub-division in the District, Hooghly, to surrender their properties inspite of their utmost endeavour"

13. "This Conference requests the Agricultural Department of the Government of Bengal, to depute a special officer to investigate the extent of jute cultivation in this District and to suggest suitable substitute crops, if there be any necessity for restricting jute cultivation in this District"

14. "That the Government be moved to depute peripatetic Agricultural demonstration parties to educate the agriculturists in improved methods of farming with the resources at their disposal and consiatent to local conditions"

15. "This Conference earnestly requests the Hon'ble Minister in charge of the Agricultural Department, to sanction a special grant of suitable amount to the Hooghly-District Agricultural Association for distribution of Departmental Ammon paddy seeds, amongst the cultivators of this District where owing to failure of crops, this year, the seeds, hitherto distributed by the Association, have been either spoiled or totally destroyed."

16. "That this Conference views with alarm the recent increase in irrigation charges, and moves the Government to allow the benefits of irrigation being available, as widely as possible, by relaxing the departmental rules and reducing the charge for water supplied, consistently with the fall in market prices of agricultural commodities, without which the advantages of the canal system can not be enjoyed by the agriculturists."

17. "This Conference, while fully appreciating the usefulness of extensive rural primary education in the District, is of opinion that till the economic situation in the country improves, the present system may remain undisturbed while steps may be taken to increase the number of schools, as far as possible, and arrange for a closer supervision of their working by formation of local committees, if need be."

AGRA ZAMINDARS' ASSOCIATION

A meeting of the managing committee of the Agra Province Zamindars' Association was held at Allahabad on November 9. under the presidency of the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf, chairman of the managing committee.

The draft of the annual report of the association submitted by the honorary general secretary to the president was approved and the budget for the ensuing year was discussed threadbare and passed. The committee took keen interest in discussing the finances of the association, and Raja Bahadur Brij Narain Rai of Padrauna and Raja Harpal Singh Sahib of Singramau took special interest in the discussions. Raja Harpal Singh

Sahib announced a donation of Rs. 5,000 towards the building fund of the Association. Nawab Bahadur Dr. Mohammad Muzammil-Ullah Khan of Bhikampore, President of the Association, who had already subscribed Rs. 5,000 very generously promised another donation of Rs. 5,000 towards the building fund. It was decided to organise the work in connection with the raising of funds without delay.

BIHAR LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

The Bihar Landholders Association has decided to wait in deputation on H. E. the Viceroy and H. E. the Governor of Bihar with a view to inviting their attention to the drawbacks and grievances of landholders in the constitution of the proposed Second Chamber in the province.

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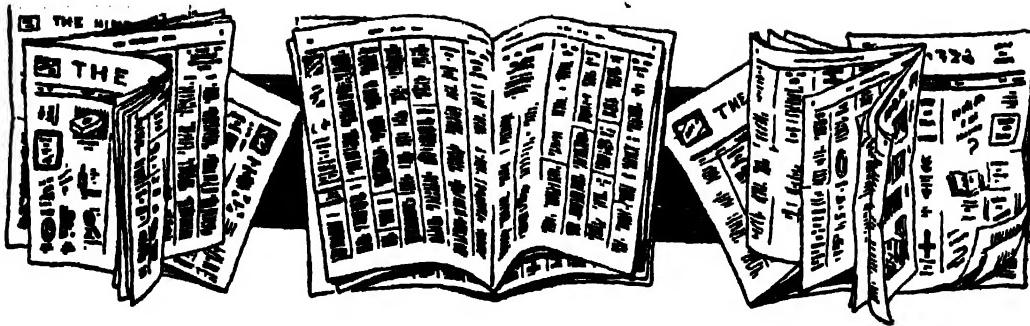
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Gleanings

FLAVOUR IN MILK

The following extract of an interesting article on "Flavour in Milk" by Professor R. H. Leitch M.A., N.D.D., appears in *Seasonal Notes for October (Punjab Agricultural Department Publication)*:

A characteristic of milk which, more than any other, commends itself to the discriminating consumer is flavour. In fresh milk of good quality, the sweetness is due to the milk sugar and the aromatic taste to the butter fat. The flavour of milk, however, while largely determined by these two components, is also influenced by certain of the milk salts, particularly the chlorides.

Flavour of milk may be affected adversely by degradation changes in one or all of its components, e. g., by the oxidation of fat, proteolysis of proteins, fermentation of lactose and exaltation of some of the components of ash. The causes of these degradation changes, which cause defective flavours in milk, are discussed below.

Physiological Effects.—The ability to produce a good flavoured milk may be an individual characteristic. This is illustrated by the example of a herd of 536 cows supplying milk to the University of California Farm Creamery, 18% of which produced milk which had an abnormal flavour. All these cows were in normal health and received the same food and the same general treatment. This, therefore, shows that this desirable characteristic is in the first place a matter of breeding and selection.

Milk secreted by the cow at the very beginning and the extreme end of the lactation differs normally from milk produced throughout the rest of the milking period. At the very beginning of the lactation the milk, known as colostrum, has a bitter taste and thick slimy consistency. At the end of the lactation after the 9th or 10th month, the milk acquires rather a sharp salty taste, due to an increase in the chloride of ash and decline in sugar. Sometimes the milk of cows in advanced lactation is rancid and, when swallowed, produces a burning sensation in the back of the throat, the rancidity being due to the splitting of the butter fat by a lipase enzyme present in milk.

A disturbed metabolic condition of the cow can also cause a strong penetrating smell and a disagreeable taste in milk. This condition usually occurs about three to four weeks after calving and can usually be got rid of by a change in feeding and veterinary treatment. Off flavours perceptible in newly drawn milk are also often due to indigestion and dyspepsia in the cow. A prolonged and systematic deficiency of calcium and phosphorous in the food supply is also responsible for deterioration in flavour of milk.

Pathological Effects.—The most common cause of unpleasant flavours in milk is the disease known as mastitis (garget) of cows. Indeed whenever an off-flavour is encountered in the milk of any individual herd, a careful physical examination of the udders of all the cows may reveal an infected quarter in one or more cows. However, when one or more cows in the herd are suffering only from a mild catarrh of the udder caused by micrococci, the clinical examination may not reveal the fact. In such cases the affected cow or cows, in a herd, may be isolated by noting the "weedy" flavour in the milk of individual cows. Many investigators are averse to tasting such

suspected milk because of the presence in it of pathogenic organisms. For the guidance of such people, a microscopic examination of milk, especially with reference to its leucocyte content, is of great help. Confirmatory evidence of this will be furnished by the alizarol test, by the catalase test or by the blood agar plate.

Effect of foods on Flavour of Milk.—The effect of specific foods on the flavour of milk, cream and butter is great. Foods which improve the taste of milk are carrots, oats, rice meal and good meadow grass. Hay of good quality and malt coombs would also appear to have a beneficial effect. Foods which deteriorate the flavour are rape (on account of the frequent presence of mustard seeds), earthnut cake, beet pulp, beet slices, beet tops, silage (especially that made from leguminous plants), turnips, swedes and cabbages. These foods show their bad effect more pronouncedly on the flavour of milk when they are fed to cows either in large quantities or just before milking or in mouldy or rotten condition. When in excess, some of these foods may cause digestive troubles and may affect the health of the cows. To check off-flavours in milk due to certain foods, the following precautions should be observed :—

- (a) Do not feed cows on mouldy, rotten or inferior types of feeding stuffs.
- (b) Foods which are likely to deteriorate the flavour of milk should be fed to cows after milking and never within an hour before milking.
- (c) Aeration of the newly drawn milk will considerably diminish the off-flavours resulting from the feeding of turnips, cabbages, silage, etc

DEAD RIVERS IN BENGAL

"The silted rivers in Bengal are a great danger : they bring about appalling decline in agriculture, population and sanitation" writes Mr. Sachin Sen, M.A., B.L., in the pages of *Onward* (Fortnightly), Calcutta.

Water-logging, malaria and agricultural depression [he says] are intimately connected. Agricultural decline is inevitable where the rich water of flood has not irrigated the crops. Crops deprived of the red water are bound to be anaemic and it is admitted that anaemic plants and anaemic men and cattle go together.

North Bengal districts are ravaged by malaria owing to the diversion of the waters of the Teesta river to the east. Central Bengal has deteriorated owing to the blocking of the headwater of her river systems by sand deposits and by railway bunds and bridges. West Bengal has been doomed because of railway bunds and blocking of the headwaters of the Damodar and her tributaries. All these places were once healthy but now they are most unfortunate moribund areas.

The rivers of Bengal either due to slow earth-movement or delta-building activities periodically oscillate between wide limits and the prosperity of East Bengal need not be taken to be a lasting one : 'if any river forsakes an old channel and scoop out a new one, the old basin becomes the centre of malaria and black fever'.

Dr. Bently in his report on "Malaria and Agriculture" to the Government of Bengal pointed out : "We can only make a very rough guess at the total agricultural loss occasioned to the Burdwan and the Presidency Division by the embanking of the country. In the case of Central Bengal (Presidency Division) which is wholly deltaic, the gross agricultural return, on the basis of the Dacca District estimate, ought to be in the neighbourhood of 50 or 60 crores of rupees per annum ; a very similar amount should be allowed for the Burdwan Division ; and a total of between 100 to 130 crores of rupees per annum for both divisions. But in all probability the actual out-turn is considerably less than half amount owing to the impoverishment of the soil, the lack of moisture and the local water-logging that has followed the embanking of the country and the shutting out of the silt-bearing river water."

It is well-known that the Jute land requires rich manure such as the silt deposits from the rivers and the interest of the province calls for annual inundation by rivers. The taming of the Damodar was responsible for the decline of West Bengal : the East Indian Railway was opened out at a huge cost to the Burdwan division.

According to Sir William Wilcocks, "Central Bengal can be revived by clearing off the headwaters of the Mathabhanga and by erecting an Egyptian barrage across the Ganges 11 miles

down the stream of the Bara head. This barrage will head up the waters of the Ganges by about 7 feet for 100 miles up stream and cause it to send a large volume of its excess water down the rivers of the Central Bengal. Another advantage of such a scheme will be that less water will pass through the Padma. The waters of the Brahmaputra alone are more than sufficient for Eastern Bengal."

From a comparison of the agriculture, health and population movement in the moribund and active deltas, it is evident that the future of Bengal belongs to the eastern districts, and in the language of Dr. Radhakamal, "the new Bengal is arising on the banks of the Jamuna, the Padma and the Meghna."

Sir William Wilcocks suggested the flushing of the dead rivers and the country on their banks with silt-laden water from the Ganges and its affluents during the monsoon. Systematic flush irrigation would replenish the streams, swamps and village ponds ; it would enrich the soil and thus combat malaria and improve agriculture. This would provide an abundant harvest of fish and make congeestion of rivers impossible.

"In Bengal there are many varieties of larvical fish indigenous to the country which are excellent surface feeders and either breed in confined ponds and tanks or migrate for breeding purposes to all large swamps and inundated rich-fields, drains and ditches in the countryside.

Both flush irrigation and systematic cultivation of such fishes will contribute in a large measure towards the biological control of malaria which is a far more economical means of its control than the application of anti-mosquito measures or man-quininisation."

Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee in suggesting a survey, district by district, of the problems of obstructed drainage, flood and river-control in different areas of the delta remarks that the extent and prevention of erosion in the catchment areas of the important rivers and the related questions of afforestation and swamp land reclamation as well as the effects of canal irrigation in the United Provinces and Bihar on the river flow of Bengal must be inquired into.

Dr. Mehnad Shah suggests the need for a complete hydraulic survey of the decadent rivers. The huge discharges of the Ganges, the Brahmaputra and the Damodar, their periodic variations, the amount of silt brought by them, the distribution of water in the country, study of precipitation data for each basin—all these factors must be accurately studied. Accordingly, Dr Shah insists on the setting up of a Hydraulic Research Laboratory for the study of the problems of river draining, flood irrigation, navigation, and water-power development in Bengal. Over and above a research laboratory, there must have a department for field service which will undertake hydrographic survey of the rivers of Bengal including relevant topics in topography, collection of precipitation data and other geographical factors likely to be of use in the preparation of great constructive projects. The Department may be financed by a small thoroughfare-tax on passengers and trading parties utilising the East Indian Railway and Eastern Bengal Railway lines.

Should not our publicists, thriving on popular favours and Government patronage, ever take up the problems of Bengal, seriously and earnestly ?

ECONOMICS OF GANJA

The economics of Ganja is analysed from a study of its cultivation and sale in the Madras Presidency by Mr. G. Sitarama Sastri in an issue of the *Harijan* and the facts make surprising reading :

Ganja plant is grown on the fields in the village of Santaravur in Guntur District, and and its flower and leaf are supplied from the adjacent Government depot at Votapalem to the whole of the Madras Presidency. The flower is Ganja and the leaf is Bhang. The former is smoked along with tobacco, and the latter is boiled in milk and the mixture is drunk.

The Santaravur fields are divided into 6 blocks of 200 acres each, and the Government which has a monopoly of Ganja, permits cultivation in these blocks by turns. The average yield per acre is 6 maunds of 3,200 tolas each. The total consumption in the Presidency is 1,200 maunds of Ganja and 200 maunds of Bhang, on an average, per year. There are 6 people interested in the trade ; the licensed cultivator, the licensed contractor, the licensed shop vendor the unlicensed consumer and the licensing authority, the Government.

The Government charges a duty of Rs. 27-8-0 per seer of 80 tolas on Ganja and of Rs. 12-8-0 per seer on Bhang. The former amounts to Rs. 1,100 per maund and the latter to Rs. 500 per maund. The licensing fees levied from the shops amount to Rs. 400 per maund. This is a modest estimate. The income to the Government is, therefore, from Ganja duty Rs. 13,20,000

" Bhang ..	1,00,000
" Shops ..	5,60,000

Total Rs. 19,80,000

The vendor sells these articles at 0-12-0 a tola to wholesale dealers and at Re. 1 a tola to retail dealers. On an average of 14 annas per tola, the consumers' bill comes to Rs. 39,20,000.

The cultivators sell at an average price of Rs. 55 per maund. Their total income is Rs. 68,000.

The contractors' public price for Ganja is Rs. 80 per maund and Rs. 20 for Bhang. This latter article he gets free from the cultivator. His income, therefore, is Rs. 30,000 from Ganja and Rs. 4,000 from Bhang. Total Rs. 34,000.

Thus, out of the total spent on Ganja and Bhang, viz., 39,20,000, the Government gets the largest share, Rs. 19,80,000 or 50½ p. c. : the shop vendors get the next share Rs. 18,40,000 or 47 p. c. ; the cultivators get Rs. 68,000 or 1½ p. c. ; and the balance of 2 p. c. goes to the contractors. The consumers lose the whole sum.

CO-OPERATION IN FAMILY RELATIONS

"One of the greatest problems of the educated wife is to achieve a democratic co-partnership in marriage" writes Paul Popenoe in the pages of *Home Economics*. The writer, who has studied some 3,000 marriages representing almost every part of the United States, says that in 85 per cent of them the man had the ascendancy, in 28 per cent the woman had the definitely dominant personality and in the remaining 37 per cent there was something like an approximation to democratic co-partnership. Out of the 50-50 marriages, 87 per cent were happy. In the marriages in which the man was the boss, 61 per cent were happy; in those wherein the boss was the woman, only 47 per cent were happy.

When the man dominates the marriage it is partly because he has a dominant personality, partly because economic and social conditions give him an advantage. He is also greatly aided by the fundamental disposition in most women to admire a strong and dominant man and to be willing, in fact, happy, to accept his protection and leadership. If men understood the opportunity that are open to them in this direction and were properly educated, the percentage of male dominance would increase.

The women-dominated marriages represent an abdication of the male usually forced on him by lack of aggressiveness, his habit of accepting female guidance, and his inadequate preparation for his job as a husband and father. Probably the average woman who is undisputed boss of the home does not at heart prefer this situation. She does not respect her husband, and he does not respect himself. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the majority of such marriages are unhappy or at best of doubtful happiness. The wife is not satisfied, the husband is not satisfied, and it is questionable whether the children in such a home have the best opportunity for development.

What can be done then to increase the percentage of 50-50 marriages? If any enterprise is to function successfully with two heads, there must be a division of labor between them. No army ever won a battle when it was commanded by two generals with equal authority. Unless husband and wife recognize that even in a co-partnership there must be a difference of function and a division of labor, it will be hard for them to operate as a unit and the result will inevitably be either chaos and a broken home or else definite assumption of leadership by one or the other.

Unfortunately, the idea of division of labour is being repudiated and sex equality has become a dogma of faith, being understood by most

women educated in schools and colleges to mean that they must do the same work that men do and in the same way.

The general idea seems to be that the two shall talk over each problem and, in the light of the information brought to bear on it by each, agree on the wisest course of conduct. Then the secretary will be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the meeting for that course of conduct. This virtually turns a family into a debating society. It means almost unlimited argument over all sorts of inconsequential points. It is the feeling of most married men, I believe, that their wives attach too much importance to this process. In his study of marriages, G. V. Hamilton asked his subjects what they found most annoying in their respective mates. Most of the husbands said their wives talked too much. Most of the wives said their husbands did not talk enough. A similar conflict of ideals is found whenever the subject is studied. Even if the husband is willing to co-operate in the sense of unlimited discussion over every move to be made, the argument is likely to result in a stalemate unless the couple are remarkably mature emotionally, well-informed, and open-minded to an exceptional degree. But since so many of the problems brought up for discussion have emotional content, since each of the partners is unconsciously trying either to imitate or repudiate his own early home, and since they inevitably have different family backgrounds, the attempt to maintain co-operation on this somewhat metaphysical basis is likely to be hard. A successful business enterprise cannot well be managed by a headless debating society.

The writer concludes :

Real co-operation is not easily attained even by educated people .and this is largely due to the defective character of their education. A large part of the difficulty seems to come from uncertainty of educated women about their own status in marriage. They are victims of conflicting moods and sometimes can never make up their minds just how they want to be treated. The wife is a partner in an adventure which proves hopeless unless it is reciprocity not so much in services as in purposes. If young people have a goal which is mutually accepted at the beginning of marriage, if they recognize the need for division of labor, and if they are free enough from infantile attitudes to be able to give and take on an adult level, they can reach the best that marriage has to offer.

RESULTS OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

A headmaster writes in the columns of the *Hindu* to say that the Federal Government in its Education Department and other agencies in the United States have recently made three studies to measure the results of agricultural education in that country, which was first introduced in its rural secondary schools some forty years ago.

Do students trained in the vocational agricultural department of rural High Schools continue to farm? This is the question presented and answered by the first study, which inaugurated in 1922, was repeated in 1927 and again in 1932. The 1932 study reveals that 73 per cent of the farm boys who received training in vocational agriculture courses entered farming or related pursuits. To state it differently, 7 out of every 10 of the 6,279 students included in the 1932 study have gone into farming or are in work related to farming.

An analysis of the data presented in the study reveals that (1) the percentage of former vocational agriculture students entering farming is increasing from 51 per cent in 1929 to 64 per cent in 1932 ; (2) the percentage diverted to related pursuits is decreasing , (3) the percentage enrolling in either agricultural colleges or non-agricultural colleges is decreasing. Thus there is clear evidence that vocational education in agriculture is really functioning in the lives of many thousands of former vocational students on farms.

And this brings us to another question, namely, 'Are former vocational agricultural students successful as farmers?' As has already been stated, this study has not been completed, but the numbers of farming records of former students so far collected afford striking evidence of the value of vocational training in developing successful farmers. . . .

Another question remains to be answered . 'How do the earnings of farmers who have received vocational instruction compare with the earnings of farmers who have not received such instruction?' This question is answered by the Newman Study. In this study two Virginian groups of farmers—one having had vocational instruction and the other not having had it—were compared. The non-instructed group equalled or excelled the instructed group in every respect except vocational training. The non-instructed group was selected from among those who had had just as many years of general education in High Schools as the instructed group. Moreover, the non-instructed group possessed more capital and were slightly older than the instructed group. Comparison of the average annual income showed a difference of \$11 dollars per year per farmer in favour of the group that had had vocational instruction. And this increased income was found to be primarily due to better management rather than to increased production.

Jute Restriction

BY THE EDITOR

THE Jute restriction scheme of the Government of Bengal has now been before the country for a considerable length of time to allow of expression of views on it by those who have made a critical study of the Jute problems of the province. There has been such a stupendous volume of published opinion for and against the scheme that a fresh attempt at analysing and reviewing the same may appear to be superfluous. But the scheme relates to a subject of such vital importance not only to the agriculturists of Bengal but to all classes and interests including the Government that every suggestion bearing on this subject should receive the earnest consideration of all concerned. It must ever be kept in mind that jute is a commodity upon a satisfactory control of whose production and marketing depends the prosperity and well-being of more than five crores of inhabitants of the province.

The Government scheme, in short, aims at restricting jute cultivation not through legislative enactment but through propaganda. For purposes of voluntary restriction the Government has instructed all District Officers to take steps through their subordinate officers to impress upon the cultivators the necessity of growing less quantity of jute than in the preceding years. A sum of Rs. 50,000 for the present has been set apart for the purpose of carrying on the propaganda. That the Government of Sir John Anderson is fully alive to the appalling economic distress that has beset every home in Bengal owing to the heavy fall in the price of agricultural commodities in general and of jute in particular, and that it is sincerely desirous of helping Bengal agriculturists, and through them zamindars, tenure-holders, businessmen, lawyers, etc. out of the present perilous financial situation is convincingly proved by this bold step.

The scheme, however, lacks in certain essential points, the most important of which is the want of any reference to the extent or limits of restriction. The absence of a specified percentage of restriction must have been hampering the propaganda officers in their task just now. Then again there is no specific reference in the scheme as to whether uniformity in restriction is to be recommended for all districts regard being had to the fact that the yield of jute in the different districts vary considerably and that some districts depend entirely or almost entirely on jute. Lastly, but by no means the least important, no scheme of propaganda to be carried

in the interior of the districts has yet been published for general information.

But these short-comings need not detract from the usefulness of the scheme at this critical juncture. We are not of those who make every Government move, good or bad, an occasion to criticise its actions and policies. If we have to refer to the defects of the scheme we do so with a view to suggesting remedies thereof, as appear best to our mind, for the purpose of ensuring the success of the scheme.

From the statistics of the last several years, it may be affirmed that the average yield of jute per acre is a little over three bales. During the last two years (1933-34) and (1932-33) the area under jute cultivation in Bengal was reduced by about 25 per cent of what used to be put under jute in years previous to 1931-32. This reduction was necessitated by a number of factors detailed discussion of which is unnecessary for the purpose of this article. World economic depression resulting in the shrinkage of export and import business has led to a considerable reduction in the demand for raw jute and jute products. And necessarily the price of jute came down to below Rs.4. The yield of reduced acreage during the last two years—namely, 80 lakhs and 88 lakhs (approx) of bales—practically coincided with the total consumption of those years. In other words, the supply was not in excess but just sufficient to meet the demand. There was, therefore, no overproduction. Yet the price of jute did not show any tendency to rise. The reason is obvious. Excess stock to the extent of over forty lakhs of bales carried over from previous years served to disturb the free operation of the law of demand and supply to the greatest detriment and disadvantage to the growers and to enormous advantage to the buyers, particularly because the former possess no holding capacity of which full advantage is taken by the latter.

The remedy lies in exhausting the stock—say of 40 lakhs of bales—so as to bring the supply on a level with the demand. In other words, 40 lakhs of bales must go out of existence which means that approximately 10 lakhs of acres must be deducted from the area cultivated for jute during last year and the year before. Taking 25 lakhs of acres as the basis of last year's cultivated area of jute we are led to the conclusion that on not more than 15 lakhs of acres (25-10) jute should be grown in the coming year if the stock is to be exhausted completely.

Our suggestion may be open to objection on the ground that there must be some stock of jute in hand, as was the case in normal years after the war, to meet emergencies. Our answer is that the stock of 40 lakhs of bales more or less which would be carried over from the current (1934-35) year's yield after meeting total consumption would more than enable the buyers, particularly the mills, to control market for one or two years to come. Therefore there is absolutely no justification for any provision for a surplus of supply over demand, however small that surplus may be. Moreover, there is the likelihood of some evasion of the principle of

restriction which will result in production of jute in excess of the desired yield. Hence if, instead of wiping out the entire stock determinedly, a piecemeal *policy of some reduction* is advocated, buyers will take their stand upon excess stock to defeat the object of the scheme which will make cultivators lose faith in the efficacy of measures, legislative or otherwise, which the Government may adopt in future.

Hence it should be the avowed policy of the Government and those interested in the welfare of Bengal to see that jute area is reduced from 25 lakhs to 15 lakhs of acres. And this means that restriction must be to the extent of two-fifths of the area cultivated last year. Every cultivator must be asked not to grow jute on more than two-fifths of the area which he cultivated last year for jute. If it is difficult to ascertain last year's area under jute cultivation of each individual cultivator, recourse may be had to the finding out of the total area under jute last year district by district, and calculating the ratio which jute-growing area in a district bears to its total cultivable area, the proportion may be fixed for each district and cultivators may be asked to conform to the proportion.

Percentage of restriction, for purposes of propaganda, must invariably refer to area of land and not to quantity of yield. For this will be a most practical proposition with mostly illiterate cultivators. It would be much easier for propaganda officers to insist upon each cultivator that he must not grow jute on more than a certain per cent of his total cultivable holding than merely to ask him to grow a certain per cent less quantity of jute than his last year's yield.

We are fully conscious of the injustice, difficulties and hardships which fixation of a proportion in the manner indicated above, will entail on certain localities and individuals. But considering the amount of benefit that it may confer on the province as a whole, such injustice or difficulties in individual cases may be ignored.

For the successful working of restriction scheme the Union Board should be made the unit and the cultivators within the unit must be informed of the fixed proportion beyond which they must not go, every instance of violation being reported by the chowkidars to the Union Board and through it to propaganda officers. The very fact that the names of delinquents will be reported will operate as a legal obligation upon them in the matter of conformity to the advice tendered.

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Notes * News * Comments

Minister on Future of Local Boards

Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Minister for Local Self-Government, Bengal, whose zeal for the successful working of our local self-governing institutions and ability to conduct them along right lines are unquestioned, in the course of his reply to the address of welcome presented to him by the Municipality and District Board of Bogra, said things which ought to set a thinking all those who cry for democratization and still more democratization through legislation. Incidentally he drew the attention of his audience to the conditions of successful working of these institutions. He said :



Sir B. P. Singh Roy

"I may tell you in this connexion, that the proper working of the self-governing institutions whether district boards, local boards, union boards or municipalities, depends largely on the spirit in which their administration is carried on by those to whom it has been entrusted and not merely on democratization of the institutions by amendment of the statutes. The acts bring into existence the machinery and offers reasonable facilities for such working but their actual execution depends much on the devotion, enthusiasm and self-sacrificing spirit of those who get themselves elected or appointed on the local bodies and on the efficiency of the executive directly responsible for the management of these local bodies".

Substitution of local boards by union boards 'for the advancement of local self-Government in the rural areas' which was urged in the address, was, the Hon'ble Minister said, no new proposal :

it had been pending before the Government for the last five or six years and their decision was overdue. He held out the hopes of a satisfactory decision regarding the future of the local boards and enlightened his audience on the various questions that had to be considered in that connection. He said :

"The question has to be examined with reference to other facts besides mere transference of the duties of the local boards to the union boards. As you are aware, two-thirds of the members of the district boards are at present elected from the local boards. If it is decided to abolish them a new electorate for the district boards has to be provided for. Whether the election should be

direct or indirect is the problem. If it is indirect, as I had occasion to point out already to the conference of the Chairmen of the District Boards at Darjeeling in October last, the electorate might be too narrow and unrepresentative; whereas if it is made direct with the extended franchise, the electorate may prove too wide and expensive both from the point of view of the candidate as well as of the district board with reference to the preparation of the electoral roll and expenditure on polling booths.

"The average area of a district board in Bengal is 2,662 square miles and the average area represented by an elected member of the district board is 154 sq. miles. It is not often possible for him to have that intimate knowledge of the necessities of the remotest part of his constituency that is expected of him. The average area of a union board is only 10 sq. miles and the resources of the union board are so small that they cannot maintain an efficient staff to take charge of the district board roads and bridges or carry out the duties now delegated to the local boards. They stand between the two and serve the need of an area comprised in a sub-division provided the district board entrusts them with sufficient funds.

The average area represented by a member of a local board is 87 sq. miles. Thus practically a local board is twice as representative as a district board. All these questions have to be carefully examined before any decision can be arrived at.

Rural Uplift—Practical and Inexpensive Suggestions :

The immediate programme of village uplift work recommended by the Board of management of the All India Village Industries Association formed under the auspices of Mr. Gandhi, not only touches immensely the economic and sanitary life of the millions of India's population but goes a very great way to find work for the vast numbers of India's unemployed men and women. The Association appeals to the public to concentrate attention on the popularisation of the use of hand-pounded unpolished rice, hand-ground whole wheat meal flour, village-made 'gur' and village ghani pressed oil which are, according to medical experts' opinions, are far superior to mill-pounded polished rice, mill-ground flour, mill-refined sugar and mill-oil. The economic benefit accruing to the villages from the adoption of the programme will be incalculable.

The Board also recommends that the work of rural hygiene and sanitation in the way of simple road-making in the villages, improved and economic methods of disposal of human excreta, cleaning of village wells and tanks and teaching the villagers the proper use of the water supply should engage the immediate attention of the Intelligentsia.

The proposals, like the one for hand-spinning and hand-manufacture of khadi, at once simple and suitable to the capacity and conditions of Indians who are by no means unaccustomed to such village industries, are of vast potential importance and contain in them the key to Indian regeneration.

Indian Sugar-cane Cultivation

We understand that four reports have so far been received at Delhi from the provinces and the Indian States containing about 95 per cent of the total area under sugarcane. The total area under sugarcane so far reported this year comes to 3,444,000 acres as against 3,349,000 acres at this time last year, or roughly an increase of 3 per cent. Weather conditions have

been generally favourable and the present condition of the crop is on the whole reported to be good. All the major provinces with the exception of the Punjab record increase in acreage over the figures for the corresponding periods last year.

The United Provinces (1,836,000 acres under sugarcane) shows an increase of 2½ per cent (August, 1934), Bihar and Orissa (468,000 acres) 12 per cent, Bengal (276,000 acres) 9 per cent, Madras (115,000 acres) 2 per cent (September, 1934), and Bombay (105,000 acres) 10 per cent.

Raja's Message to All-India Libraries Conference

To the ninth All-India Libraries Conference which has just concluded its session at Madras, Raja Kshitindradeb Rai Mahasaya of the Bansberia-Raj, Hooghly, generally acclaimed as the 'Grandfather of Library Movement in India', sent the following message :



Raja Kshitindradeb Rai Mahasaya

This is the age of Democracy. National consciousness has been aroused all over the world. Young and old are stirred by this national feeling which rightly or wrongly has to be recognised. In recognising this it must be remembered that there is need for directing this consciousness along right lines.

No better way, no path so good towards progress can be devised to help along our young men than the study of books. In 1891 I recognised this by founding a library in my native place and the Bansberia Public Library now contains several thousands of books.

I know how much this is valued. The Library building is a meeting place for young and old. While the way is long, it has to be remembered that a journey of 1000 miles begins with one foot-step. We are on the way that is the way of progress.

I therefore wish my fellowworkers and countrymen every success in their efforts to make life more interesting than it has been and by doing that we make the world a better one live in. As an old man I give the movement and its organisers my blessing.

U. P. Government's Research Schemes

Half a dozen Government schemes for various researches, including one for practical research into feeding cattle, spread over five years and involving an expenditure of about Rs. 2 lakhs were considered at a meeting of the U. P. Agricultural Research Committee, to be recommended to the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research for financial help.

The schemes related to the undertaking of cotton seed crushing and supply of decorticated cake for educative propaganda, investigations of nutritive values of proteins in principal nitrogenous food crops grown and consumed in the country, finding out scientifically the merits of medium and small hadi bels, claimed to be specially suitable for developing the village sugar industry, and research into the preservation and handling of eggs and poultry.

Cattle in Bengal

A Press Note issued by the Bengal Government on the 10th December last says :

Bengal has a cattle population of over 25 millions, the second highest provincial total in India. Yet her cultivated area per yoke is only 5.6 acres, the lowest in all the provinces. To look at the problem from another standpoint, the number of cattle per 100 acres of net area sown is 108 in Bengal, the largest in India as against 42 in Bombay, 88 in the United Provinces 67 for India as a whole. In Egypt it is only 25. As to milk supply which is so indispensable for the health of Population, Bengal possesses over 8½ million cows. Yet the supply is so poor that it hardly exceeds 1½ chhattaks (3 ounces) per head per day.

2 This lamentable condition of cattle in Bengal is due to continuous malnutrition through generations, the number of cattle having been allowed to increase indiscriminately without any thought for providing for them an adequate food supply. The Cattle Census Report of 1915 states that the land available for grazing was so overrowded that as many as 69 animals struggled for existence on one acre of grazing in Faridpur, 55 in Noakhali, 45 in Howrah, 40 in Bogra, 35 in Tippera and Rangpur and 30 in 21-Parganas. With the exception of a few districts like Bankura, Birbhum, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, the grazing land all over the province still continues to be heavily overstocked.

3 Over and above this there is the shortage of grazing. With a density of population as high as 646 per square mile (in some places it is as much as 3,228) every conceivable area is being taken up for human food or money crops. Of a total cropped area of about 31 million acres, only 0.1 million acres are under fodder crops. This is in striking contrast with conditions in Great Britain, where there are over 31 million acres as permanent grass and pasture land for eight million cattle, and in addition about 6 million acres under mangolds, alfalfa, swedes and other fodder crops. The staple fodder crop in Bengal is paddy straw from about 23 million acres. Even if the whole of this straw were made available as cattle food, the supply would be insufficient for the barest requirements. It works out at about two seers per head per day, whereas the normal consumption should be about 5 seers.

4 The two indispensable factors for the improvement of cattle are breeding and feeding. In Bengal neither of these aspects has received the attention it deserves from the ryots or the landowners. It is Government alone who have made any sustained and systematic effort. The Livestock Expert to the Government of Bengal is devoting close attention to the question of breeding for some years and definite results have been placed before the people while important experiments have been made in cattle dietary under the Agricultural Chemist at the Dacca farm with assistance from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

5. It has been found that paddy straw alone, which is only roughage or coarse fodder cannot cause proper growth unless supplemented with some concentrate such as oil cake. Some animals in the Dacca farm which were fed on paddy straw alone for four months showed a steady loss of live weight and energy ; when fed with a small addition of linseed cake, they not only recovered their loss of vitality but also rapidly added to their capacity for consumption of roughage. The results not only showed how the addition of concentrates secures a balanced ratio and achieves better nutrition, but how it indirectly helps in preventing waste by enabling a still larger utilization of the same roughage.

6. Two vital things for the health of the animal are (a) that it should have such food as will supply the necessary amount of body heat (this is supplied chiefly from the roughage), and (b) that the food must contain the minimum dose of digestible protein (without which flesh formation cannot take place nor the body weight maintained). There must be a fairly definite ratio between the digestible protein and the other digestible nutrients (fats, carbohydrates etc.) This ratio should approximate 1 : 16 under Bengal conditions for animals at rest ; the amount of feed and the concentrate (i. e. the protein ratio which is called nutritive ratio) must be increased when the animal has to perform hard work or to produce milk. In the case of paddy straw, the protein ratio is about 1 : 100. The need of supplementing it with linseed, mustard or til cake is therefore of vital importance.

7. The work which is being undertaken by the Nutrition Section at the Dacca Farm is of vital importance to the province of Bengal. Bengal imports milk products worth lacs of rupees every year. With improved stock and balanced feeding, there is no reason why milk products should not be available for export.

Our apology for quoting the Note *in extenso* is that the information disclosed by it gives a clue to the dwindling agricultural efficiency of Bengal as a province. Her agricultural efficiency or backwardness is in part accounted for by the inefficiency of her cattle and the latter is occasioned by malnutrition and want of proper breeding. In speaking of the deplorable condition of our cattle the Note rightly focusses attention, besides the two last mentioned, on the extreme paucity and inadequacy of pasture lands and the non-chalance of both landlords and tenants on the question of cattle improvement. The indictment as against the landlords and tenants, though severe, must be held by all right-thinking persons as just and the conclusion is irresistible that their negligence is almost culpable which could reduce the cattle to the present condition. But we are afraid that the Government themselves will have to plead guilty to the same charge. They had long left the question of cattle improvement in the cold shade of neglect and their belated activity in this direction, even admitting that it is 'systematic and sustained', has hardly justified itself by the magnitude or quality of results so far achieved. We are fully conscious of the utility of research and other works that are being carried on by the Agricultural, Live-stock and Veterinary departments, with or without the assistance of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. But what pains us to note is that these activities, or rather the results of them, lose most of their usefulness to the people concerned, being generally confined, as at present, within the precincts of the Government farms and laboratories. Proper and well-regulated efforts to propagate them among the landholders and agriculturists would have been amply repaid with increased efficiency and productivity all round. To refer only to one among the hundred cases where adequate and ample publicity and propaganda is needed to reap the full benefits of the results of research activities. Rinderpest is one of the most important cattle diseases of Bengal, taking a heavy toll of her cattle every year. The newly appointed Veterinary Officers has, it is understood, found out a new method of treatment which consists in the application of a vaccine obtained from the spleen of goats inoculated with Rinderpest virus which has been "passaged" through goats and fixed for this species of animal. The advantages of this method over the serum alone and other older methods consist in

ensuring for a much longer period immunity from the disease to almost all breeds of Indian cattle and in a much lower cost (4 as. per 100 head of cattle in stead of 1 as. 6 p. per cow and 6 as. per buffalo under the old methods). How many of the landholders and agriculturists, we ask, have heard of this newly found remedy ? Is not the system of publicity and propaganda yet very defective ?

Some Points in Agricultural Planning

Below we give an extract from Professor Radhakamal Mukherjee's third Agra University extension lecture delivered at the Maharaja's College at Indore. The subject was "Agricultural Planning", and the learned Professor has very rightly pointed out the unwisdom of entertaining the idea of an unlimited extension of plant breeding irrespective of the question of regeneration of fertility of the exhausted soil. His suggestion as to the utilisation of indigenous peasant practices in schemes of agricultural improvement deserves also more than a passing notice. The Professor says :

It was often mistakenly supposed in India that improved agriculture would come from plant breeding and the introduction of new crops. There was, however, a limitation to such improvement depending upon the local agricultural practices. A heavier yielding type of wheat, cotton or sugar-cane must make greater demands on the soil and its introduction was to be accompanied by a change in the local system of agriculture, which would enable the soil to regain its fertility. Unless that was done the yield of the new type must inevitably deteriorate until a new balance was struck between crop production and regeneration of soil fertility. This balance would probably come somewhere about the level of the old yield of the local crop.

Agricultural planning must be grounded on local experience and no improvement was possible unless the Indian village was converted from a collection of small isolated holding to a single big co-operative farm, and agriculture was treated as a collective service. For this, agricultural co-operation was by far the most powerful implement, and it would have succeeded much better in India had we utilized indigenous co-operative habits and practices as done in Italy, Switzerland, the Balkan States and Russia.

Charities and Benevolences

We are glad to learn that 'the philanthropy, persistence and generosity' of the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Darbhanga have made it possible for the Darbhanga Improvement Trust to be brought into being whose object is to carry out a scheme of reconstruction and improvement of the devastated Darbhanga town. The Board of Trust will function with Mr. T. A. Preston as Chairman. The Maharajadhiraja has defined his original offer more precisely, by saying that he would make a grant of Rs. 5 lakhs to this Trust. He has also offered to lend the Trust further sums up to a maximum of Rs. 9 lakhs, should this be required.

The Maharani Regent of Gwalior has presented a sum of money with which to erect a much-needed child welfare centre in New Delhi in memory of Princess Mary Kamla Raja Scindia of Gwalior. The centre will be run in conjunction with the Willingdon Hospital and will bear the late Princess's name.

A donation of four lakhs of rupees has been made to Dacca University by the executors of the will of the late Babu Jagamohan Pal, who was a well-known banker and merchant at Dacca. This is the first munificent bequest to Dacca University. The executors of the will have placed at the disposal of Dacca University this sum for the establishment of a medical college to be named after the donor.

Kumar Kamalaranjan Roy of Kassimbazar has made a princely donation of Rs. 50,000 to the Medical College Centenary Fund.

His Holiness Hem Chandra Goswami of Auniati *Satra* has paid a donation of Rs. 1,000 for the establishment of a Middle English School at Sapekhati.

Mr. Pranab Chandra Roy Chowdhury, a zaminder of Karapara, has given Rs. 2,000 to the funds for the construction of a charitable dispensary in memory of his brother, Prafulla Chandra Roy Chowdhury.

Raj Kumar College

The annual prize-giving, Old Boys' gathering and other functions of the Rajkumar College, Raipur, were held on December 2, 3 and 4. Prizes were distributed by Lt. Col. A. S. Meek, c. m. g., Agent to the Governor-General, Eastern States. The gathering included 15 Ruling Chiefs of the Eastern States Agency and about 50 "Old Boys."

The Principal, Mr. T. L. H. Smith Pearse, I. E. S., in his speech said that preparation was being made for an attractive scheme of expansion to make the institution the leading boarding school of north-east India.

Raja Moni Lal Singh Roy

Raja Moni Lal Singh Roy of Chakdighi has been unanimously elected Chairman of the Burdwan District Board. This is the fourth occasion on which he has been so elected.

New Sheriff of Calcutta

We congratulate Mr. Abdul Halim Ghuznavi, M. L. A. on his being appointed Sheriff of Calcutta for the ensuing year with effect from December 20. The younger brother of Sir Abdel Kerim Ghuznavi and a zamindar, Mr. Ghuznavi was prominent in the field of politics during the anti-partition agitation when he sided with the Hindus and stood against members of his own community. He was a delegate to the Round Table Conferences in London and also gave evidence before the Joint Parliamentary Committee on India Reforms.

LANDHOLDERS' JOURNAL

OBITUARY

December

The Raja of Chikati is dead. A career of great promise, of inestimable service to his country, province and community has thus been prematurely cut off. The secretary of the Ganjam Landholders' Association, of which he was a Vice-president, writes :

At a sub-committee meeting of the Ganjam Landholders' Association held on 29th of November, 1934, at Berhampur under the chairmanship of Sri Rajah Saheb of Surangi, Vice-president of the Association, it was unanimously resolved to place on record its deep sense of sorrow at the sudden and untimely demise of Sri Jubaraiah Saheb of Chikati Sri Gourochandra Debo, former Vice-president and an active member of the Association who always took an abiding interest in its welfare besides always fighting for the interests of the landholders of the district. The resolution conveying its sincere condolences to Sri S. C. Debo Mahasayyo and the Rajah Sahebs of Chikati and Bodogodo in their said bereavement was also duly communicated. In the death of the former Vice-president at a comparatively young age of 22, the Association lost a sincere worker and a strong fighter for the cause of the landholders of the province in general and the district in particular. He contributed not a little to the formation of the new Oriya Province. He did yeoman service to the Oriya cause by serving on the Orissa Administrative Committee. By temperament he was very genial and by disposition he was always charitable. He was very popular among his tenants. His death is mourned today by all Utkal, high and low, irrespective of caste and creed.

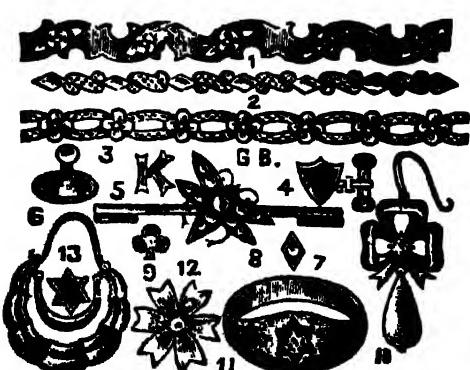
On the ineffable charm of his personality it may be enough to say that although very few persons worked more whole-heartedly for the Oriya Province, he remained to the end just as popular with the Andhras of Ganjam as with the Oriyas. The extension of the boundaries of the proposed Oriya Province as recommended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee in its report, it is stated, was a source of satisfaction to him on the eve of his death.

May his soul rest in peace !

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EDITOR'S NOTICE.

The "Landholders' Journal" is, as its title indicates, the accredited organ of the landholding community of India. It has come into existence to promote the interests—political, social and economic, of the landholding classes, and must necessarily depend for its success on the active co-operation and assistance of the community which it serves.

The policy of the Journal is progressive and dictated by one ideal—progress of the country as a whole along constitutional lines and without impairment of the basic rights of the zemindar community closely allied as they are with those of their tenants.

The Editor cordially invites articles and contributions on problems of interest to the country in general and to the landholding community in particular, items of personal and district news, reports of political and social events, autobiographical and biographical sketches with photographs of prominent members of the landholding community and photographs of general topical interest.



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Vol. III. {

JANUARY, 1935.

No. IV.

Landholders Refuse to be Effaced

IN reply to an address of welcome presented by the people of Hathwa Estate on the occasion of his first official visit to it, His Excellency the Governor of Bihar stressed the fact that by keeping a close personal contact with every part of his estate and looking after the interest of those dependent on him a great landlord can justify the position he holds.

"Good landlords are a very real asset to any State because they introduce this personal element in a way which is lacking in the ordinary administration however good it may be.

"The interests of the landlord and his tenants are identical in all the most important respects. It is absurd to suggest that a landlord is an enemy of his tenants. The friend of the ryot is not the man who takes a high sounding name and preaches class hatred. It is the landlord who knows them and studies their needs and looks after their interests.

"But a landlord has to set himself a high standard ; he must spend a great part of his time on his estate ; he must really know his tenants and study their needs and gain their loyalty and affection not merely through his position, but by caring for them and looking after their interests."

Greatest weight attaches to this conception of the position of the landlord in the body politic and of the ideal which a good landlord should set himself to, not merely because it is the considered view of the head of a province but because it represents the conclusion of one who by virtue of his long and intimate connection with the people of the country is entitled to the highest regard. We make bold to say that in His Excellency Mr. J. T. Whitty, zemindars and ryots alike have a sincere friend and his hints to the zemindars should not merely be read but should be read, inwardly digested and translated into the daily life of the community. If zemindars could but approach the ideal set before

them—not by any means an unattainable ideal—they could snap their fingers at the self-appointed custodians of the agriculturists' interests whose field of operations is not the countryside where real service would be the most appreciated but the press and the platform.

Fortunately for the community, whose service is the mission of this Journal, it is not as effete or moribund as many of its critics would have the world believe. We have faith that the words of wisdom uttered by His Excellency will not entirely fall by the roadside or on hard or stony ground. There are in the community even now leaders of proved wisdom and capacity able by their combined effort to infuse that life and new spirit into it which would raise it once again to the pre-eminence it once held. The recent utterances of such prominent landholders as the Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Darbhanga, Maharaja of Kassimbazar, Mr. P. N. Tagore, Maharaja of Venkatagiri, the Hon'ble Nawab of Chattari, Nawab Sir Muzammil-Ullah Khan, Rai Bahadur Vaidyanath Das in their private capacities or as heads of responsible associations clearly demonstrate their determination not to be effaced. In the course of his presidential address at the Second Session of the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference the Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga said :

But we must acknowledge that our chief defects are that we have little cohesion amongst ourselves and we are not able to carry on effective propaganda amongst those whose lot is intermingled with ours. We have by our indolence and indifference given scope to those mischief-mongers who, in order to get cheap leadership and serve their own selfish ends, enter one organisation, or another, propagate falsehoods and try to foment trouble among our tenantry. They go about misrepresenting us day in and day out and try to make them believe that the landlords are blood-sucking fiends and their sole aim in life is to emasculate the peasantry. We all know how far removed such assertions are from truth. Who is here in this hall who does not think that his prosperity depends on the prosperity of his tenantry? Who is here in this hall or outside it who does not realise that both the landlords and tenants live on land, and the improvement of land is their common concern.

Not infrequently, for what we do we are characterised as unpatriotic, enemies of our country and lovers of slavery. Can there be a baser and more malicious charge against us? I ask those calumniators to turn the pages of history, examine the records of zemindars and other propertied classes and tell us whether or not the development and progress of the country has been or is being mostly done through their public spirit and philanthropy,—not to speak of the bulk of taxes which they pay to the coffers of the Government for their part of the work. But they are silent workers, and they are suffering for their silence. We are anxious for our preservation because we do not want to part with the opportunities which our position affords us to serve our country.

Our first and foremost duty is to counteract the mischievous propaganda that is being carried on among our tenantry and co-operate with them on the land questions in such a manner as may enable us to win their confidence and serve our common interest.

The same strain is noticeable in the speech of Mr. P. N. Tagore as the President of the Reception Committee :

For ourselves, it is equally necessary that we landlords, young and old, should combine, the various Landholders' Associations, whether in the Province, in the Division or in the District, in Bengal or in the sister Provinces, should combine and make a common cause against the ills with which we may be faced.

These utterances indicate that the zemindars realise that their greatest need at the moment is unity—a unity that in due course, will transcend the bounds of Presidencies, Provinces or States and eventuate in an All-India Federation of Landholders. If this dream is to be fulfilled it is essential that landholders everywhere should strive to organise themselves, compel attention by effective propaganda and place their relations with their tenants on the footing recommended by His Excellency Mr. J. T. Whitty.

The Village Industries Association

—AN ECONOMIC PLAN BY MAHATMA GANDHI.

By PROF. KHAGENDRA N. SEN, M.A., F.R.E.S. (Lond.)

I.

THE All-India Village Industries Association, or as it is known in the Indian language, "Akhil Bharat Gram Udyog Samgha", inaugurated under a resolution passed at the last session of the Congress held at Bombay on the 27th October, 1934, is the first planned attack by the people of the country under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi on the chaotic economic conditions prevailing in this country. The exact nature of the Association and the kind of economic planning that it has in view will not become clear unless it be functioning for some time and its relations with other economic activities not at present within its scope be intelligently determined. Enough information may, however, be gleaned from the statements, interviews, articles and other matters connected with the Association that have appeared in the Press from time to time, particularly those that have emanated from Gandhiji himself, to enable us to have a rough idea of the kind of activities in which the Association is going to interest itself. It is the purpose of this article to give a critical estimate of the aims and objects of the Association with a view to evaluating the part that it will play in the formulation and execution of a national economic programme.

Before, however, we proceed to discuss the aims and objects of the Association, it would not be irrelevant if we tarry for a moment over the constitution of the Association. It is, perhaps, inevitable that the Association should, at the start, consist mainly of Congressmen but it would be wrong, *pace* all statements to the contrary, to imagine that it is a Congress organization or that it is going to be a limb of the Indian National Congress. To some extent, Gandhiji himself has been responsible for this confusion which exists in the public mind, and shall we add, even in the mind of the Government. His own intimate connexion with the Congress and its leadership, together with the fact that the Association was born under the auspices of and at a meeting of the full session of the Congress, complicated further by certain irresponsible statements made by Congress leaders and officials, naturally leads to a presumption that the newly started Association is but a new orientation of Congress activities and that its economic programme is but a cloak for concealment of more sinister

objects. That was the suspicion that has admittedly inspired the recent circular issued by the Home Department of the Government of India to the Local Governments asking the latter to watch the activities of the agents and other persons engaged in the work of the Association, a fact which was confirmed by the Hon'ble Sir Henry Craik in the Legislative Assembly on the 21st January last in course of a debate on a motion for adjournment of the House moved by Mr. Satyamurthi. That this view is not tenable will be apparent from certain facts, a clear grasp of which will suffice to remove all doubts in the matter.

In the first place, it must not be forgotten that in inaugurating this Association, Gandhiji has severed his connexion with the Congress except, perhaps, in an advisory capacity. If, however, the fact that Gandhiji still retains the weapon of civil disobedience in his hands, even if he wields it alone, is considered sufficient to question the reality of his resignation from the Congress, there is conclusive evidence to show that the Village Industries Association itself, apart from Gandhiji personally, is going to be a non-political body. In a statement issued on the 8th November, 1934, from Wardha, Mahatmaji declared: "I would also like to emphasise the fact that the Association is to be entirely non-political. Its sole object will be the economic, moral and the hygienic uplift of villages in India and it will be open to workers drawn from all parties. The test will be full sympathy with the programme and readiness to help it with money and actual work wherever possible". Again, in course of an article under the caption "the New Baby" contributed to the *Harijan* in its issue dated December 21, 1934, Mahatmaji observes: "The Association, though it is a creation of the Congress, has been deliberately made non-political and autonomous. Its members are pledged,* whilst they remain such, to abstain from any campaign of civil disobedience. As its adviser and guide, I can say that the Association has no further aim than that of bringing about the economic, physical and moral betterment of the villagers." When the "adviser and guide" of the Association was confronted with the fact that he still retains in his hands the right of practising civil disobedience whenever he may feel called upon to do it, and with the view of the Government of India (at present tentative) which found expression in the

*The pledge which has to be signed by every member of the Association is interesting and significant, and may be reproduced for that reason :

"Having read the constitution and rules of the All-India Village Industries Association, I offer to be a member thereof and God helping, promise to devote the best part of my energy and talents to the furtherance of its object, which is the all-round welfare of the villages of India."

"So long as I remain a member of the Association, I shall not take part in any campaign of civil disobedience.

"In the discharge of my duties, I shall seek the assistance and co-operation of all those who may be willing to give them, irrespective of differences in politics.

"To the best of my ability I shall strive to live up to the ideals of the Association and prefer the use of village manufactures to any other.

"In the prosecution of my obligations to the villages, I shall recognise no distinction between man and man".

circular referred to above and in the speech of Sir Henry Craik in the Assembly, he is reported to have declared in a special Press interview : "If ever I should have to organize civil disobedience, it would be organized independently of any other activity,"* and emphasised that never in his life had he done anything in an indirect fashion, meaning thereby that the Village Industries Association had for its objective the revival of village industries alone without any other ulterior motive behind it.

These extracts are germane in so far as it is necessary to satisfy ourselves that the newly-born Association is an absolutely non-political body, and that all its aims and objects are concerned with the rural economic conditions of our country. In this connection, it is necessary further to point out that membership of the Association is open to any one who would subscribe to its pledge which, as we have seen, definitely eschews politics, and the members are also laid under the obligation, in terms of the pledge, "to seek the assistance and co-operation of all those who may be willing to give them irrespective of differences in politics." Gandhiji has further amplified it in course of the exclusive interview given to the *United Press* on the 22nd of January last. "The Association will do nothing unaided," he is reported to have observed, "for so vast is the work to be done. "Therefore", he added, "it will invite and receive the co-operation of all agencies, not excluding the official agencies".

The explanation of the non-political character of the Association is, we believe it will now be agreed, sufficiently conclusive. There is no warrant for the official view that the initial attitude of the Government towards the activities of the Association should be one of suspicion unless it is subsequently found to be unjustified. We should rather say that if the Government sympathised with the aims and objects of the Association, their initial attitude should have been one of co-operation and helpfulness unless it was proved to have been wrong by the subsequent activities of the Association.

II.

What are the aims and objects of the Association ? It is necessary to have a clear idea of the aims and objects of the Association before we can proceed to evaluate their merits or properly study them in relation to other economic activities not within the scope of the Association. Can we call it an economic plan ? Every economic plan sets to itself certain pre-conceived ends to achieve, and from that point of view also, a study of the aims and objects of the Village Industries Association is necessary. The question is, how far, if at all, do they represent a clear-cut economic plan ?

Here we come across a strange contrast. Gandhi, the idealist and visionary in politics, is revealed as a practical businessman, almost a *bania*

* January 22, 1935.

in economics. In politics, "complete independence" is the goal : in economics, the goal, as we shall see, is very much modest, though the scale of operations is necessarily gigantic. In the one case, there is a complete lack of a sense of reality ; in the other, the perception of reality seems almost to overwhelm him. In the one case, the ideal held aloft is that of "Purna Swaraj" for the country, a reckless promise of the millennium, which at one time used to be accompanied by definite time-schedules ; in the other, the necessity of "moving very cautiously"^{*} is emphasised, the work being compared to "sailing on an uncharted sea".† Why this difference in outlook ? To say that in one case, the Mahatma lacks a sense of reality, in the other case it is present—is merely to beg the question. I believe the whole difference is the difference between irresponsibility and responsibility. The absence of all power in the one case and the possibility of doing solid, hard work in the other, explain the difference ; a case of mass fetish against individual responsibility. That is why we want the royal *masnad* itself in the one case, and nothing better than unpolished rice and jaggery in the other. But we must not anticipate, nor be unnecessarily critical.

The aims and objects of the Association are officially stated to be as follows as per *communiqué* issued from Wardha on the 15th December, 1934 :

"The object of the Association shall be village re-organization and reconstruction including the revival, encouragement and improvement of village industries and the moral and physical advancement ; and for the fulfilment of its object the Association shall raise funds to carry on research work, publish literature, organise propaganda, establish agencies, devise measures for the improvement of village tools ; and do everything that may be necessary for the furtherance of its object."

In an earlier statement, in order to impress upon the public the necessity of an immediate practical programme, issued from the same place (dated 8th November, 1934), Gandhiji was more specific and classified the objects of the Association among the four following categories, namely,

- (1) To encourage and improve the known industries that are likely to perish for want of support ;
- (2) to take charge of and sell the products of those industries ;
- (3) to carry on a survey of such industries as need to be revived and supported, and
- (4) to attend to village sanitation and hygiene.

This specification of work points more to how the objects of the Association could most usefully be fulfilled rather than to an exhaustive enumeration of all the objects of the Association. The paragraph which

* Interview to the United Press, January 22, 1935.

† *Ibid.*

we have quoted above from the *communiqué* of the 15th December is a comprehensive statement of its objects which are made co-extensive with the whole field of rural reconstruction and village improvement, including moral and physical improvement of the people. That is, no doubt, an ambitious scheme and it will be seen, further, that it is not wholly economic either but like all schemes of rural welfare, it must be set in the direction of the moral and physical improvement of the people. Thus, as regards industries, Gandhiji explained in his Press interview on the 22nd of January last, "the Association will certainly seek to revive and encourage as many industries as are necessary for the moral and material growth of village life". But the ambitious ideas are severely limited by practical considerations and we find Gandhiji indicating the directions in which useful work may immediately and actually be taken in hand*, thus :—handpounding of rice, grinding of whole wheatmeal by village *chakkis*, popularising *gur*, and studying processes with a view to ensuring purity of products. The beginning should appear to be too humble to many, but those who would complain about it would certainly be those who have missed the economics of Mahatma Gandhi. Articles of diet and articles of dress constitute the two central points in that economics. Behind them both, lies the fundamental Gandhi-an conception of the economic self-sufficiency of the village. The importation of foreign cloths, even cloths made by Indian mills, into the villages, when the locally produced *khadi* can dress them all and in addition give them employment for the idle months of the year, is as much painful to him as the importation of foreign articles of every day diet, such as, sugar, flour, biscuits, sweet-meats etc., when similar products but of superior purity may be locally produced, and pursued as a lucrative occupation by those who have now been driven into idleness by the mill and the factory or as a subsidiary occupation during four months of the year when the cultivators have laid aside their ploughs.

The question of employment is further supplemented by the requirements of health in the case of diet. The handpounded rice, *gur* and whole wheatmeal are superior in nutritive value to husked and boiled rice, sugar or flour manufactured in a flour mill. Mahatmaji is so definite on this point that he is prepared even to see the growing sugar industry of the country losing its market rather than that it should affect the health of the people by displacing *gur*. Thus, according to Dr. Ansari whose opinion is quoted *in extenso* by Gandhiji, boiled rice is deficient in Vitamin B (the absence of which causes beri-beri) whereas "unpolished rice, not being subjected to the boiling process used in polishing rice in the mills retains Vitamin B as well as the Protein, Fat and mineral matter in which rice is none to rich." As regards wheat, Dr. Ansari observes that "in the process of milling, the germ and the bran are rejected and with it undoubtedly are discarded some of the most useful chemical constituents of wheat, for with the germ, a considerable amount of protein

* Statement (*Wardha*) dated Nov. 8, 1934.

and fat are lost," and proceeds to say that "the wheatmeal ground in the mills is never so rich in these ingredients as the whole wheatmeal flour ground in the indigenous *chakki*. The latter consists of all the three ingredients, i. e., the bran, the kernel and germ and is hence superior in nutritive value, besides being cheaper and more readily available to the poor people in the country-side." As for *gur*, it is Dr. Ansari's considered opinion that its nutritive value "is at least 33 per cent superior to that of refined sugar." *

These are, in the conception of Gandhiji, typical village industries the displacement of which has left the villager at the mercy of exploiters as the producer merely of raw materials for them. The result has been, according to him, that the villager of today is not half so intelligent or resourceful as the villager of fifty years ago. "Go to the village carpenter," says Mahatmaji, "and ask him to make a spinning wheel for you, go to the village smith and ask him to make a spindle for you, you will be disappointed." The fact is that the villager has ceased to produce the things which he formerly used to produce ; he is now an exporter of goods—foodstuff and raw materials that the town dwellers require, that the industrialists of India and abroad require ; and he imports instead cheap substitutes for his own use that impair his health. He can produce and keep for himself what he now exports, and in addition, employ his idle hours by producing what he now imports ; jaggery wheatmeal, village tools belong to this category. The idea is first that of securing economic self-sufficiency of the village,† and then catering for the needs of town dwellers. Here we get a distinct idea of planning. The chemical analysis of rice, wheat and *gur* and their significance as village industries point only to a certain selective process through which the plan has got to work. They do not exhaust the list.

III.

This section may be regarded as a digression. We have already seen that handpounding of rice, grinding whole wheatmeal flour in the village *chakki*, the manufacture of jaggery—these represent only primary and at the same time characteristic selections for the villagers as an immediate economic programme which the Agents of the Association will be called upon to undertake. Neither in the statement of the object of the Association as given in the *communiqué* of the 15th December nor in other documents published in connection with the activities of the Association is there any mention of the fact that these activities will not go beyond handpounding of rice, grinding of whole wheatmeal, and jaggery. On the contrary, the *communiqué* states as the object of the Association "village reconstruction and reorganization including the revival, encouragement and improvement of village industries." The scope of the

(Continued on page 351)

* Vide article in *Harijan*, Dec. 28, 1934.

† Vide article in *Harijan*, Dec. 7, 1934.

Agricultural Rent in Bengal

(Continued from the previous issue.)

BY SACHIN SEN, M.A., B.L.

24. From the Decennial Settlement, it has been the deliberate aim of the Legislature to see that the ryots do not suffer in any way for rent. The protective measures from 1793 to 1869 can be gathered from the following :-

(1) The Decennial Settlement provided for authorised forms of pottas to the ryots. The rent was settled to be an entire sum consolidating the abwabs lawfully chargeable with the assul, thus blocking the avenues of other exactions and abwabs.

(2) Under the Permanent Settlement scheme, the landlords shall not cancel the pottahs of Khoondkasts except on proof that they were obtained by collusion, or that their rents for 3 years before the settlement were below the pergunnah mrikbundy, or that they had obtained collusive deductions from their rents, or upon a general measurement of the pergunnah for equalising and correcting the assessment.

(3) The Permanent Settlement provided that all leases to under-farmers and ryots before the settlement and not contrary to any Regulation, are to remain in force, unless proved to have been obtained by collusion or from unauthorised persons.

(4) The Permanent Settlement made the following provisions for the ryots : abolition of extra cesses and abwabs ; no power to cancel bona fide pottahs,* fixity of tenure and fixity of rent rates secured ; Canoongoes and patwaris to prevent oppression of the persons paying rents ; landlords to specify in writing the rent payable by ryots at pergunnah rate—the dispute, if any, being determined in the Civil Court of the Zilla in which lands were situated.

(5) Though the provisions for compulsory preparation of pottahs were rescinded by Regulation 7 of 1812, they were later on restored when Section 2 of Act X of 1859, and Section 2 of Act VIII

* It is maintained that the pottah regulations proved in-operative because they were opposed to the interests of both the landlords and ryots. The landlords could nullify the objectives of pottah by inserting therein exorbitant rates. The ryots did not at first appreciate pottah because they thought that pottahs would not stop the collection of abwab , secondly, "as a rule they held more lands than they were rated for in the village registers and they shrank from an enquiry into the exact amount ; thirdly, "the acceptance of the 'pottah' meant the perpetuation of the rather fictitious pergunnah rates which were considerably in excess of the economic rent which the landlords could secure by contract under the then prevailing conditions". Thus it was the cultivators who reluctantly to avail of Pottah regulations.

of 1869 entitled every ryot to a pottah from his landlord containing the following particulars: the quantity and boundaries of the land, the amount of annual rent, the instalments in which the same is to be paid, the special conditions of lease, the proportion of produce (if the rent be payable in kind) to be delivered and the time and manner of delivery.

- (6) The pottah* question was thoroughly settled by the Acts of 1859 and 1869 which made the following provisions:—

(a) ryots at fixed rates of rent (which have not been changed from the time of the Permanent Settlement) are to receive pottahs at those rates; (b) ryots having rights of occupancy are to receive pottah at fair and equitable rates; (c) ryots not having rights of occupancy are to receive pottahs at such rates, agreed between landlords and ryots.

- (7) The rights of Khoodkasts are respected by the following regulations:—(a) the Regulation VIII of 1819 enacts that no purchaser at a public sale for arrears of rent of an intermediate tenure is entitled to eject a Khoodkast ryot or resident and hereditary cultivator, or cancel bonafide engagements and provisions respecting sending sezewal to attach lands and collect rents in case of default are not applied to such ryots; (b) the Regulation XI of 1822 respected their rights by not ejecting and not demanding higher rent by purchasers; (c) the Act X of 1859 did not entitle purchasers to eject such ryots or enhance rents of such ryots.

- (8) For the speedy realisation of rents, the landlords were given powers under the Regulation VII of 1799 to seize the person of the ryot in case of default and under the Regulation V of 1812 to distrain the ryot's property but they were rescinded by Act X of 1859 which specified the grounds of enhancement of rent, transferred rent suits to Civil Courts, abolished the landlord's power to compel attendance of roys at their offices and modified distraint.

- (9) The Istemrardars or mokurrereodars who had held at a fixed rent for 12 years before the Decennial Settlement, were protected from enhancement, and in like manner, by the Act of 1859, a ryot holding land for a period of 12 years or upwards, could not be ejected. A new species of right, called an occupancy right,†

* Pottahs are of various descriptions: Mokurrere, permanent or fixed; thika, specific; Shurh Mouzah, at the village rate; Shurh pergannah, at the pergannah rate; bilmookta, adjusted; Khoodkast and paikash; nowahad, for newly cultivated lands; jungleboory; for clearing woods; sayer, of the sayer duties; khalaree, for salt manufacture; Shuhd, for making honey; man, for making wax. Persons granting pottahs would get a Caboolcut, "a counter part engagement in conformity with the tenor of the pottah".

† Section 6 of Act X of 1859 laid down—"Every ryot who shall have cultivated or held land for a period of 12 years shall have a right of occupancy in the land, so cultivated or held by him, whether it be held under pottah or not, so long as he pays the rent payable on account of the same. Section 7 further laid down that nothing in section 6 shall be held to affect the terms of any written contract for the cultivation of land entered into between a landholder and a ryot, when it contains any express stipulation contrary thereto."

was created by Act of 1859, re-enacted by Act of 1869 in which possession and cultivation of land and payment of rent were all that were necessary to invest the ryot with the said right—an expression used for the first time by the Legislature in 1859.

25. The Legislatures did not stop at the measures catalogued above in fixing the security of tenure and rent.* Then came the Tenancy Act of 1885, the Magna Charta of the rights of the ryots. This Act was further amended in 1928 which gave tangible rights to ryots under various headings and all sections relating to restraint of property were rescinded. Thus the last resource of the landlords in the matter of exercising their proprietary rights was taken away.

26. These legislative interferences are made on the strength of the declaration of the Governor-General in Council in the proclamation of the Permanent Settlement which stated—"it being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people and more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talukdars, raiyats and other cultivators of the soil".†

ENHANCEMENT OF RENT

27. The enhancement of rent is a question of absorbing interest and herein also we find that with the process of time the landlords' powers inherent in proprietorship have been mercilessly curbed.

28. The enhancement of the ryots' rent in Mahamodan times took place in a peculiar way. The zemindar's settlement with the ryots was annual and the zemindar used to add the subsequent abwabs and exaction to the assul or original and distribute the enhanced rate "according to the quantity and quality of land held by the ryots, or the estimated or actual crop". The other way was to assess at a fixed rate for the bigha, irrespective of the crop, including abwabs and exactions. As the settlement was annual, the enhancement could be pushed on more smoothly.‡ It is true of course that the zemindar was in his assessment controlled by custom but there were ways of circumventing custom. The

* "The principal faults of Act X of 1859 have been said to be that it placed the right of occupancy which it recognised in the tenant and the right of enhancement which it recognised in the landlord, on a precarious footing. It gave, or professed to give, the raiyat a right which he could not prove, and the landlord one which he could not enforce."

† "The interference, though so much modified, is in fact an invasion of proprietary right, and an assumption of the character of landlord which belongs to the zemindar; for it is equally a contradiction in terms to say that the property in the soil is vested in the zemindar and that we have a right to regulate the terms by which he is to let his lands to the ryots, as it is to connect the abwab with discretionary and arbitrary clairis".—Sir John Shore. Marquis Cornwallis held a different opinion.

‡ Sir George Campbell maintains that Todar Mull's assessment is enhanced in the following way; in spite of prohibitions, illegal cesses were from time to time added on and gradually annexed to the customary rate. If there is resistance by ryots, a compromise on rate more than the assul is effected. Then a further increase, further resistance and further compromise on a further enhanced rate. When the majority of ryots consent to a compromise, an enhanced local rate is established and the other remaining ryots are raised to that standard on the plea of customary rates prevailing at that time in that neighbourhood.

zemindars generally settled through a village headman and in this wise they cheated the ryots with scant consideration for village "reybundees" (records of customary rates).* The zemindars themselves settled with the Government for a number of years upon the basis of the "hustabood", a comparative statement of the value of the land, prepared by the Canoongoes and originally founded upon Todar Mull's investigations. The zemindars settling the amount of revenue with the Government distributed the same among the ryots, and their allowances and higher rates that were later on assessed on the ryots were justified on the ground that in case of failure of crops, the stipulated amount of revenue could not be held back. This was the original ground for necessitating a difference between the ryot's and zemindar's assessment whereas in fact the ryots were never excused, either for flood, famine or failure of crops. Moreover, the ryot's burden heaped up with every settlement on the rubbish of zemindar's exactions and abwabs† the zemindars' receipts having little connection with the ryot's rent.

29. It may be mentioned in this connection that the ryots long continued to pay in kind. Akbar's attempt to substitute a money payment for a payment in kind was only partially successful in Bengal. An equal division of actual crops between the zemindar and ryots was very common; with the employment of a zemindar, the payment in kind fell into disuse. This system was oppressive to the ryots—payment in money came into vogue.

30. Under the Company's management, the question of enhancement of rent took another shape. From 1789 onward the Government were positively mindful of the protection of the ryot's interest. In an anonymous work, "The Zemindari Settlement of Bengal", it was maintained that the ryots had "a general right to an absolutely unchangeable rate of payment which it was intended to make permanent and unalterable just as much as it was to fix the revenue of the zemindar." That was an

* The customary rates were ignored: the great body of cultivators in Bengal sank into a position forming no part to village organisation, so they could be extorted; even customary rates were consolidated with abwabs and cesses; the threat of measurement of land intimidated the ryots into submission of assessment beyond customary rates; the Canoongoe's office, which kept records of rates fell into disuse; the ryots were averse to receiving pottahs, so the rates could easily be enhanced; the under-farmers (especially after Jaffier Khan's time) made more exactions than the zemindars in the enhancement of ryot's rent; in case of plenty of crops, the zemindars and mercenary under-farmers exacted rent in kind, though they had previously contracted for it in money, and conversely, and if the ryots were remiss in paying, they quartered their Aezawuls and even they removed ryots to bestow lands upon those who would agree to pay enhanced rates.

† In Mahammedan times, the original plan was that the zemindars would receive from the ryots the amount for which they were responsible to the state: they of course got some allowances for collection expenses. But in course of time, Government made agreement with landlords for a lump sum without reference to the exact amount collected from the ryots for the year. That helped the door of exactions, and this process was responsible for the fact that the amount payable by the landlords was looked upon as a tax and the landlord's receipts were treated as something different, though originally and necessarily based upon the ryot's assessment.

absolutely exaggerated statement: * rents were sought be enhanced not arbitrarily but fairly and justly, they could be fixed legally and justly from time to time. The zemindars had then clear powers of enhancement and in their powers they were supposed to be guided by established perganna rates which in fact did not exist†. The perganna rate at most then meant that a rate, as fixed at the last authoritative assessment, was known and was the standard. It was claimed by Hunter that the perganna rates in Bengal since 1770 were in excess of the economic rent.

31. The Regulation of 1793 put a stop to abwabs but did not extinguish the landlords' power of enhancing the rent. One half of Bengal was waste in 1793 and the waste lands could be let by the zemindars on their own terms. Regulation IV of 1794 gave the zemindars power to recover rent at the rates offered in the lease, whether the ryot agreed or not and the "zemindars were thus enabled to claim any rates they pleased, to distrain for rent at those rates and to put on the raiyats the onus of proving that the rates so claimed were not the established rates."

32. From 1793 to 1858, the landlords were able to multiply the rent-roll by four times and according to Hunter the increase in the yield of the estates in 1812 since 1793 is estimated at 36 p. c. The rent-roll jumped up, not that the landlords were vexatiously exacting but that peace in the country brought about a general prosperity resulting in cultivation of waste lands. The growth of population was responsible for the fact that the competition for lands was evident among the rayats. And at a period when there was competition for lands and when there was no *Hafiam* Regulation of 1799 giving unrestricted power of distraint to landlords, the Rent Act of 1859 was passed which for the first time methodically tackled the question of enhancement. Section 17 of the Act X of 1859 provided that ryots having a right of occupancy are not liable to enhancement of the rent except on some one of the following grounds viz., that the rate of rent paid is below the prevailing rate, that the productive powers of land or value of produce have been increased otherwise than through the agency or at the expense of the raiyat and that the quantity of land held by the ryot has been proved by measurement to be greater than the quantity for which rent has previously been paid by him. Under the same Act, the occupancy raiyat is entitled to claim an abatement on the grounds, namely—that the area of the land has been diminished by diluvion or otherwise, that the value of produce or the productive powers of the land have been decreased by any cause over which the ryots had no control, and that the quantity of land held by the ryots has been proved by measurement less than the quantity for which rent has been previously paid by him.

* This statement has been emphatically challenged by Beaden Powell and he gives reasons categorically to prove his viewpoint. (p. 625-27).

† "At present no uniformity whatever is observed in the demands upon the raiyats. The rates not only vary in the different collectorships but in the perganas composing them in the village and in the lands of the same village, and the total enacted far exceeds the rates of Todar Mall"—Sir John Shore.

33. Section 13 of the same Act provides that "no under-tenant or ryot who holds or cultivates land without a written engagement or under a written engagement not specifying the period of such engagement or whose engagement has expired or has become cancelled in consequence of the sale for arrears of rent or revenue of the tenure or estate in which the land held or cultivated by him is situate, and has not been renewed, shall be liable to pay any higher rent for such land than the rent payable for the previous year", "unless a notice shall have been served upon him as prescribed in the section specifying the rent to which he will be subject for the ensuing year, and the ground on which an enhancement of rent is claimed." A ryot's rent can only be enhanced up to a reasonable rate and if the terms of pottah exclude enhancement, rent cannot be disturbed.

34. The Act specifying grounds of enhancement of rent in reality curtailed the landlords' powers; it confined them within the bounds of recognised provisions. The Act, on the other hand, gave new rights to the ryots. Since 1859, enhancement of rent could not take place except under a suit in the Act and the ryot was entitled to a previous notice of enhancement and of the particular ground on which it was demanded. And the ryot might contest the demand at his option by a suit or in answer to a suit brought against him to recover rent at the enhanced rate. "A claim to enhance assumes the existence of some right of occupation in the tenants." When the landlords are directed by the state in the matter of enhancement or abatement of rent, then a situation is contemplated which is not warranted by the existence of the Permanent Settlement of 1793. The situation gives rise to two anomalies—firstly, the landlords who are declared as the proprietors in the Regulation I of 1793 suffer a great positive encroachment on their rights; secondly, the concept of rent in Bengal is fundamentally changed. The landlords suffer because their proprietary rights are curbed to the extent of utilising any other reasonable grounds than the ones mentioned in the Act of 1859 in the enhancement of rent: the concept of rent is changed because the rent is no longer the "surplus profit of capital applied to agriculture or that it depends immediately upon, or is regulated by, the profits of capital, but that it is such a proportion of the produce of the soil, as the Government may from time to time determine". I do not mean to suggest that rent in Bengal has ever been allowed to follow western theories; but rent instead of being fashioned by competition or even custom was decided to be determined by Government—a position hardly commensurate with the proprietary rights of landholders. The Rent Law Commission in their report (1880) said:—"If it be asked on what principle Government should determine this proportion—what share shall be considered fair and equitable—our answer is, such a share as shall leave enough to the cultivator of soil to enable him to carry on the cultivation, to live in reasonable comfort, and to participate to a reasonable extent in the progress and improving prosperity of his native land". This

theory of rent can certainly not be applied without repudiating the Agreement of 1793*, but the Government accepted the theory and decided to start with the presumption that the existing rents were fair and equitable.

35. In this connection, I would like to mention that the Government asserted their right to keep the rents of ryots within a recognised limit but this excellent procedure was not adopted by them in regard to estates which were liable to settlement. Under the Regulation VII of 1822, the Revenue officers were a law to themselves and they made enhancements of rent in their settlement work in pursuance of no recognised code of equity ; there was also no possibility of resorting to civil courts to contest the amount of enhancement. The provisions of the Act X of 1859 and of the subsequent Act VIII of 1869 applied to settlement proceedings by Govt. as well as to the proceedings of private landholders and that each ryot was entitled to previous notice of enhancement and of the particular ground on which it was demanded. And the ryots might contest the demand. The Government officers felt embarrassed by these provisions and though they were deaf to the clamour of the landholders, the Government made further amendments in regard to settlement proceedings. The Act III of 1878 while protecting the ryot from enhancement except on the grounds specified in section 17 of Act X of 1859 or of Section 18 of Bengal Act VIII of 1869 enacted that rent enhanced by a settlement officer should be deemed to have been correctly enhanced until the contrary was proved and the ryot was precluded from contesting his liability to pay unless he did so by a suit instituted within 3 months from the date of the service of the notice of enhancement. And a notice to attend and sign the Jummabandi was to be deemed a sufficient notice under the rent law. The Government were not satisfied with this : they passed another Act VIII of 1879 with reference to the settlement†, which made interesting provisions in the interest of Government :—

(a) Section 4 of the Act gets rid of all notice sections of the rent laws

* Ashutosh Mukherjee in criticising this conception of rent in Bengal said (in an article in Calcutta Review, 1880) ;—"The Bengal Government must again assume the character of owners of the soil before they can, with justice to landholders, take upon themselves to determine authoritatively that the rent now payable by the ryots shall not exceed the amount which may leave them enough to maintain themselves and their families in reasonable comfort, that is to say, in a style which from time to time may, to the Bengal Government, seem meet. It is argued that the Government of 1793 never intended to abdicate the function of determining the proportion of the produce payable by the ryot,—a function cast upon the Government by the ancient law of the country. But by the ancient law of the country the proportion of the produce payable by the ryot was payable to Government itself ; it was not rent in the modern conception of the term, but revenue.

† "The Act of 1879 is not applicable to all the estates belonging to the Government nor does it apply exclusively to such as are in the possession of Government. The Act obviously can be applied to no permanently-settled estate but only to such as are liable to settlement and as regards these it is equally applicable whether the estates belong to the Government or private zamindars and are in actual possession of their proprietors"—Judgment by Hon. Justices Tottenham and Norris in the Calcutta High Court in connection with the Midnapore Ryots' Case (1884).

and of the option enjoyed by the ryots as to the mode of contesting enhancement.

- (b) Section 6 prescribed the grounds on some one or other of which, and not otherwise, the settlement officer may record a higher rent as demandable from any ryot having a right of occupancy than the rent which was previously paid by him.
- (c) Section 9 provides that whenever a higher rent has been recorded as demandable from a ryot, the settlement officer shall cause to be published a copy of Jummabandi or extracts therefrom, specifying in respect of such ryot the rent recorded as payable by him and the clause or clauses of section 6 under which the rent is enhanced.
- (d) Section 10 provides that every ryot shall be liable to pay the rent recorded as demandable from him, unless it shall be proved, in a suit, instituted by such ryot within four months after the publication of Jummabandi to contest it, that such rent has not been assessed in accordance with the provisions of the Act.
- (e) Section 11 provides that in all suits so instituted, the court shall, if it modifies or sets aside the rent recorded, proceed to determine the rent payable by the plaintiff in accordance with the Act.
- (f) Section 14 provides that the Act would apply to all settlement proceedings under Regulation VII of 1822 which have been confirmed after the commencement of the Act 1878.

I deliberately go into the details of the Act of 1879 whereby a Settlement officer is given large powers in regard to enhancement of rent whereas the landlords of permanently-settled estates are robbed of their rights and curbed in their enjoyment of their lands. The Midnapore Ryots' case in 1884 shows that the Government in the exercise of its paramount powers actually ejects an ancient zemindar from the temporarily-settled parts of his zemindary, because he refuses or is unable, to exact from the ryots temporarily-settled a higher rent than that paid by the ryots who enjoy the protection of the Permanent Settlement, whereas in the year 1885, the Government pass the B. T. Act making protestation to the effect that the hardships endured by the ryots in consequence of the Permanent Settlement require further protection at the cost of the inherent rights of the zemindars under the Agreement of 1793.

36. The Government repealed the Bengal Act VIII of 1879 and in its place substituted the procedure under Chapter X of the Tenancy Act of 1885 for the settlement of rent and revenue in all cases in which a survey was being made and record of rights was being prepared.

'Regulation VII of 1822 is however still in force. The record framed under the Regulation Law is merely a register of existing rents on account of these drawbacks. The Regulation is now seldom resorted to, except for the settlement of lands which are being assessed to rent for the first time.'

as for instance alluvial accretions and island churs on which tenants have not yet settled.'

37. The B. T. Act 1885 brought the question of enhancement of rent on a scientific basis which definitely curbed the powers and privileges, given unto the landholders by the Regulations of 1793. Section 29 of the B. T. Act states that the money rent of an occupancy-ryot may be enhanced by contract, but a contract to pay more than 2 annas in the rupee is void and that the rent fixed by the contract shall not be liable to enhancement during a term of fifteen years from the date of contract. Section 30 states that the landlord may enhance the rent by suit on one or more of the following grounds, (a) that the rate of rent paid by the ryot is below the prevailing rate ; (b) that there has been a rise in the average local prices of staple food-crops* during the currency of the present rent ; (c) that the productive powers of the land have been increased by an improvement effected by, or wholly or partly at the expense of the landlord.

38. Firstly, about the prevailing rates. Prevailing rate generally means the customary or parganna rate. It means the rate actually paid and current in the village and not the average rate. The late Justice Dwarka Nath Mitter observed that "prevailing rate" means the "rate paid by the majority of the ryots in the neighbourhood.† "The duty of a judge, when dealing with a case based on this ground of enhancement, is not to determine the prevailing rate but to find out strictly the rate which adjusted itself and is actually paid as "nirik" or rate by a very large majority of ryots".‡ Thus the principle that is accepted is that rent in our province is customary and not competitive. In the fixation of the customary rent, the following elements are taken into consideration : quantity of land, productive power of land, the average value of the produce in or near the locality and the class to which that ryot belongs.

* The vagueness of the expression "the value of the produce" in Section 17 of Act X of 1859 is avoided in the B. T. Act of 1885 by the words ; "rise in the average local prices of staple food crops."

† When it is found that there is no one prevailing rate and that ryots holding land in the village of similar description and with similar advantages pay rent at varying rates, the lowest rate may be taken and the rent of defendants may be enhanced upto that limit (Alep Khan V. Raghu-nath ; Lalit Moer V. Hilt Narain). In ascertaining the prevailing rate, regard must be had to the rent paid by occupancy ryots holding similar lands in the whole village or in neighbouring villages and not to the rent paid by some of them only. (Ramju Ram V. Ram Kumar).

‡ How to find out the "prevailing rate". Suppose the rates at which land of a similar description and with similar advantages is held in a village are as follows :—

Bighas	at	Rs.	As.	P.
100	"	1	0	0
200	"	1	8	0
150	"	1	12	0
100	"	2	0	0
150	"	2	4	0

Re. 1-12-0 is the prevailing rate, because 400 bighas, or more than half, are held either at this or a higher rate. (Vide Mitter & Mukherjee's B. T. Act).

39. Secondly, a rise in the prices of food-crops.* This increase must be a permanent one i. e., a steady and normal increase and not one that fluctuates in a violent and uncertain way, and is effected by extraordinary causes, not likely to last. Section 32 lays down that the Court shall compare the average prices during the decade immediately preceding the institution of the suit with the average prices during such other decade as may appear equitable and practicable to take for comparison, and that the enhanced rent shall bear to the previous rent the same proportion as the average prices during the last decade bear to the average prices during the previous decade taken for purposes of comparison, provided that in calculating this proportion, the average prices during the later period shall be reduced by one-third of their excess over the average prices during the earlier period, in order to cover the probable increase in the cost of production. A rise in the prices of agricultural produce may be caused, firstly, by an increase in the demand for food grains on account of increase in population, secondly by an increase in the demand for food-stuffs and raw materials on the part of other countries (as evidenced by expansion of export trade), thirdly, by a continual fall in the purchasing power of the rupee on account of a fall in the price of silver.

40. Thirdly, increase of productive powers of land.† This clause provides that the landlords would be entitled to the rent at the enhanced rate only so long as the improvement might last; so a time must come when the rent would have to be reduced to the original rent. Consequently the enhancement should include a sum in addition to the interest payable upon the capital spent, otherwise, if only interest is allowed, the landlord's

* Rise in the prices of agricultural products, other than food-crops, such as jute, tobacco etc., is to be enjoyed by the ryots unhampered by any distant chance of being shared by the zamindars.

† In every suit for enhancement on the ground of increase in the productive power of the land held by the ryot, the burden is on the landlord to prove that it is not due to the agency of the ryot. If a ryot converts his own cost and labour arable land into a garden, which yields a larger income, or if he improves ordinary arable land by manuring, thereby making it yield crops like tobacco or potato, the landlord is entitled only to the rent of the land as it existed before the improvement. When a ryot brings waste land into cultivation, he is liable, after the "russad" period is over, to pay at the full pergannah rate for the cultivated land. But if the land which he originally obtained required special cost to make it culturable and the ryot had to spend more than ordinary labour and capital to make it good arable land, the landlord is not entitled to any benefit from the improvement. If the ryot has impressed upon the land a character it would not naturally have, the landlord is not entitled to ask for enhancement. Where a raiyat has dug a tank, planted an orchard at his cost or erected a distillery, it is the ryot's agency and not the landlord's that has improved the land—S. C. Mitra's Tagore Law lecture on the Land Law of Bengal. Chief Justice Garth opined in "Obhay Chunder Sirdar and Radha Bullabh Sen" that the rent of lands used for orchards should be liable to enhancement or abatement from time to time in the same way as lands used for other kinds of culture because the growth and productiveness of orchards, apart from certain amount of extra care and attention from the ryots depend far more upon the quality of the soil, and the fertilising influence of the season than upon the labour of the ryot.

The B. T. Act requires the registration of an improvement and the rules are also laid down therein.

capital would be lost to him after the lapse of a few years (Ganes V. Lachmi). Section 33 lays down that in determining the amount of enhancement on the ground of landlord's improvement, the court shall have regard to the increase in the productive powers of land caused by improvement, the cost of the improvement, the cost of the cultivation required for utilising the improvement and the existing rent and the ability of the land to bear a higher rent. Section 34 lays down that the court may enhance the rent claimed on ground of increase in productive powers due to fluvial action, to an extent fair and equitable but not so as to give the landlords more than one-half of the value of the net increase in the produce of the land.

41. It is important to note that with all these grounds for the enhancement of rent, section 35 lays down that the court shall not in any case decree any enhancement which may be under the prevailing circumstances unfair and inequitable. Now the question that comes to the fore—What justification there could be for the repeal of the provisions for enhancement of rent. In deciding the equity of the provisions about the enhancement of rent, the provisions which are, as we have seen, hedged in with many conditions favourable to the ryots, we shall have to take into consideration the rate of rent, paid by the ryots. The rent in the Bengal delta, it must be noted, is not "economic rent" which is, as defined by Malthus, "the portion of the value of the whole produce, which remains to the owner of the land after all the outgoings belonging to its cultivation, of whatever kind, have been paid, including the profits of the capital employed, estimated according to the usual and ordinary rate of agricultural capital at the time being." In 1865, a Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court in the Great Rent case rejected the doctrine as held by Sir Barnes Peacock, that the rent in the delta was economic rent. By "fair and equitable rent" which the ryot is bound to pay, they meant as "that portion of the gross produce calculated in money, to which the zemindar is entitled under the custom of the country". Thus the rent is controlled by custom and not competition.* The essence of customary rent, as is well-known, is the price of a definite share of the produce,—an average of the quantity of the produce and its average selling value. If we examine the rate of rent paid by the occupancy ryots, we shall find that the rate is extremely moderate and decidedly below the economic rent.

* "According to Ricardo, the rent of any particular piece of land is the estimated difference between the amount which it produces and the amount of produce raised from the worst land in cultivation. The net produce is that which remains after an adequate remuneration has been given as the price of labour employed and the use of capital. This theory of rent may be true when there is free competition and when there is no interference by law or custom causing disturbance to free competition. Increase of population and consequent demand for land and the rise in the value of produce and decrease in the wages of labourers may increase the rate of rent in other countries, but in India custom controls the theories of Ricardo and Malthus." The majority of the judges in the case of Thagoorane Dosree Vs. Bisheshur Mookherjee accepted Mill's view of rent in India. But there is no doubt that the principle of competition gives to the theories of rent a scientific character.

Statement of the proportion of occupancy ryots' rent to the value of average gross produce per acre.

District.	Average gross produce per acre.	Average rate of rent of occupancy ryot per acre.			Approximate percentage of rent on value of produce.	
	Rs.	Rs.	A.	P.		
Bankura	47		1	12	0	4 per cent.
Midnapore	48		3	2	0	6 "
Jessore	57		2	7	0	about 5 "
Khulna	60		3	6	0	5
Faridpur	50		2	9	0	5
Bakarganj	70		4	9	0	6
Dacca	60		2	13	0	about 5
Mymensingh	60		2	12	0	5
Rajshahi	55		3	5	0	6
Tippera	60		3	2	0	5
Noakhali	75		4	4	0	6

42 The average rate of rent of occupancy ryots throughout the province is just over Rs. 8/- per acre and the average value of produce is just over Rs. 60/- per acre. This calculation does not take into account the letting value of homesteads and the produce of homestead lands attached thereto.

(To be continued)

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The Importance of Children's Library

BY RADHA RAMAN MANNA.

A library is a true centre of learning. It caters to the intellectual and cultural needs of the community. It is perfectly true that the library plays a very important part in spreading education among children. "The library is a benami *vishwa-vidyalaya*, an unrecognised university. Students as well as young men and women do not derive less inspiration from a library in regard to the formation of brain or development

of personality than from schools and colleges", observed the well-known Indian economist and sociologist, Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in the course of his presidential speech delivered on the occasion of the annual function of the Suburban Reading Room at Beliaghata, Calcutta. Books are the real store-houses of knowledge of all ages. They are our constant and faithful companions. To read is to know. Todd says, "Reading forms the style, and stocks the mind with knowledge. It stimulates the mental energies into aspiration". Taste for reading is acquired by reading the best authors, studying them carefully and



Mr. Radha Raman Manna

imitating their chief merits and for this purpose incorporation of Children's Sections in public libraries has been of vital importance so far as the spread of education among the children is concerned. It is a great pity and a matter of deep regret that Calcutta, the first city and the former capital of the great Indian Empire and the second largest city of the British Empire and which, above all, is claimed to be the chief centre of intellectualism and culture, should be without a public library with a separate Children's Section and separate children's reading rooms attached to it. Even the Imperial Library of Calcutta, the premier Indian

library, is without its children's reading section, and children under eighteen years of age are not allowed admittance into it. Therefore, certainly the times have now arrived when an effort should be made to inculcate the reading habit on children. Children are the future hopes of the country. They are the torch-bearers of our civilisation and culture. They are expected to serve their society, their mother country and the world at large in their adult lives through the education received in libraries and educational institutions, which equips them with all the fundamental requisites for their cultural and educational development making them not only physically fit but also intellectually strong and morally noble.

In almost all Western countries there is scarcely any public library without its Children's Section attached to it. In almost every public library in America there is a separate section for the children. There, illustrated children's magazines and books on biography, history, geography, science, etc., written in easy and simple style in the form of stories are displayed. There are also separate reading rooms for the children where little chairs and tables are kept arranged for the kiddies. The library authorities get acquainted with them, pay occasional visits to their respective residences, and make enquiries as to what sort of books they are particularly interested in. In most of the libraries, children are collected together and are told interesting stories of various sorts. For the very young children mysterious fairy tales and fables bearing good morals are arranged, and for the elderly children anecdotes, history and heroic deeds of great warriors and finally stories of everyday life, both home and foreign. These stories are not always finished, and children are often told to read the remaining portions from such and such books. In this way taste for reading and love of books are instilled into their minds. There are also arrangements for delivering lantern lectures about the manners, customs, and culture of the people of foreign countries. To teach the children the value of cleanliness, unclean and dirty children are not allowed to receive books. Before handing books to the children, the library authorities examine minutely their hands and feet.

"Inquisitiveness is inherent in children. From the time a child is able to talk, his curiosity to know all about surroundings comes uppermost in his mind. One in charge of a child knows how he or she is pestered with all sorts of questions which are not always easy to answer. This quest for knowledge would increase with age if not checked by constant snubbing as is usually the case in this country. When the child is able to read, the reply to queries should be "read and you will know", observed Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai, M.L.C., of Bansberia, the pioneer of the library movement in Bengal in the course of his speech delivered on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Children's Section of the Bansberia Public Library. "The new seeker after knowledge", continued the Kumar, "would get all that he wants in his book. It may not be possible for him to pick

out the right thing in the right place. There must be some one to lead him, to guide him and help him on to the correct understanding of the subject on which he wants enlightenment. The teacher or the librarian can do it."

With regard to the faulty system of the present-day education prevailing in this country of ours and the evil consequence of the students' slavish cramming of text-books and the teachers' notes with a view to passing examinations, the Kumar further pointed out in the course of his speech, "Too much stress is given in our schools to what is called "cramming"—to the getting by heart the lessons given in the classes. Knowledge is generally confined to the text-books—the fixed curriculum. The student is not encouraged to go beyond it lest it should lead him astray beyond the beaten track. Anyhow to pass the examination has become the be-all and end-all of the present-day education. To have outside knowledge beyond that given in the class does not get the necessary encouragement. Hence there is a world of difference between a fourteen-year-old English boy and a boy of the same age in this country. The residential system of education—the periodical excursions and various sorts of games help to develop the latent faculties inherent in them. Here in this poor country the equipments for education are too scanty and lack of organisation is another factor which is partly responsible for this deplorable state of things."

"Most of the school libraries consist of some reference books useful for the teachers and a few books suitable for boys but the restrictions imposed for their free use nullify the object of such collection. The Children's Section should be made an intellectual workshop for the children, which will try to serve the tastes of all the students. It should try to develop a lasting interest in reading both for pleasure and for securing information. It should train the children in the proper care and intelligent use of books as tools of further learning and it should try to form the library habit so that as they grow up they may naturally and eagerly come to use the books of the Adult Section. It should also aim to teach the children to read with a purpose and to enjoy and appreciate good literature. Of course, the most potent influence in the effectiveness of a Children's Library is the Librarian. His task is no doubt onerous. It would be his duty to know the various types of reference reading to develop the vocabulary ; reading for note taking and reading to follow directions. He should teach appreciation of good literature and instil into each child a real love of reading. The child is the father of the man. The future of the country rests with them", with these words the Kumar concluded his speech.

It is high time that the members of the Imperial Library Council and the authorities of other public libraries should take the matter up in right earnest for the redress of these long-standing grievances of the children and open separate Children's Sections with separate children's reading rooms attached to their respective libraries for their educational and cultural welfare.

The Rate of Interest and Agricultural Indebtedness

BY S. L. NARSIAH, B.A.,

Vizianagram.

GENERALLY speaking, the rate of interest in India ranges from 18 to 36 per cent. In this wise agriculture presents here a gloomier aspect than any other industry. The costs of cultivation involve large amounts of capital. The demand is not continuous but recurring during certain seasons of the year, and when it comes, it rises enormously high. The necessity of the farmer is the opportunity of the moneylender to dictate terms and extract as much as possible. The absence of co-operative credit facilities in some parts and their inadequacy to cope with the real requirements in others where they exist, make the Indian *Sowcar* the master of the situation. With nothing to go upon the farmer plays himself off into his hands, and takes loans at ruinous rates. Law has not assigned any limits to the rate. The Usurious Loans Act and the Interest Acts offer but little protection. The Law is uncertain, and no rate is regarded as penal if parties enter into contract as free agents, and there is no practice of fraud, coercion and mis-representation. The practice of loaning corn on condition of return with an addition of half or one-fourth the quantity loaned out by way of interest is still current in rural areas, though it is getting obsolete with the increased facilities of transport, and the rise in the money value of raw produce.

Of the indebtedness of the Indian farmer sixty per cent represents past indebtedness and forty per cent the annual borrowing for seasonal purposes. The high rate of interest is to be met from the annual produce with the result that he is steadily growing poorer with little margin to live upon. Agriculture affords employment for a part of the year, seven months at the most. The farmer has no subsidiary industries to fall back upon during bad years or idle seasons owing to the development of machine production in and outside India.

The land revenue fixed years ago under more favourable circumstances has now become a burden, and during the last 50 or 60 years, largely added to his indebtedness. It is neither advantageous to the Government nor to the peasant. Whether in the Zemindari or under the Government the actual cultivator is the tenant, and what he pays is rent pure and

simple. Add to the uncertainties of agriculture he has to meet the vagaries of demand, and the instability of a foreign market. There is no knowing beforehand what his future produce or income would be. But what he has to pay to the landlord and the State is known and certain.

So long the farmer remains in the abject state in which he now is, village uplift and economic progress are but idle talk. He is the most important organ of the body-economic of the country. If he is diseased, the rest cannot be hale and hearty. If he is rich, all become prosperous; if he is poverty-stricken, the country cannot be otherwise. The improvement of the economic position and the tax-paying capacity of the farmer, the wiping out of the heavy debt load, the increase in capital, and the reduction in the rates of interest are important questions that await prompt solution in the interest of all alike.

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Fruit Growing in India

BY S. R. SWARUP, B. SC. (AGRI.), MUZAFFARNAGAR.

INDIA has been a fruit growing country from times immemorial—a fact corroborated by numerous references in ancient Hindu books. But today, when science has got a hold of its own on almost all the industries in other countries, India has cared but little for the application of science to her industries, particularly those connected with agriculture including fruit culture.



Mr. S. R. Swarup

America was the first to apply science to crop production and fruit growing and this has resulted in her capturing world markets of fruits, both fresh and canned. Other countries viz Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Spain etc. followed suit and are now competing successfully in the world market. But unfortunately India, one of the oldest fruit-growing countries, and enjoying almost a monopoly in growing particular varieties of tropical fruits, still follows her old traditions and does not look forward for better production and marketing. This is due to the fact that this industry is largely in the hands of illiterate persons. Although many of the zamindars have their own orchards, they

take very little interest in them, and leave their maintenance and upkeep in the hands of *malis*. Their only interest lies in the fruit season when they go to the orchards and enjoy the fresh fruits of the season. The marketing is entirely in the hands of middlemen or *kunjras*, who purchase the standing crop and sell it either wholesale or retail in the markets.

The Agricultural Departments in India were created about 30 years ago during the regime of Lord Curzon, but these departments have so far done very little, if any, for fruit growing. Of late, since the creation of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, some attention has been paid to it. The Government of Bombay were the first to establish a fruit section in their Agricultural Department and have since expanded it a good deal under the able guidance of their fruit expert Dr. Cheema. Their example was followed by the Government of the Punjab, which too can boast of having a really efficient staff engaged on the

problems connected with fruit growing and preservation. The United Provinces, although having the oldest Botanical and Horticultural gardens at Saharanpur, has far lagged behind. It is only of late, with the arrival of Mr. R. G. Allan, as the Director of Agriculture, that U. P. has thought of starting a fruit section. But the proposal has not yet been given full effect to. Mr. Allan has, after great efforts, only succeeded in the creation of a non-official body known as the U. P. Fruit Development Board for the advancement of the cause of fruit growing. The other provinces are also endeavouring to improve fruit growing in their areas. The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research has sanctioned some fruit production and marketing schemes and have started, under their own control, fruit research stations at Chauhatia (U. P.) for hill-grown fruits and at Sabour (Bihar) for plain-grown fruits of Northern India. These stations have been established only this year and it will take years before anything real comes out of them. The Bombay Government have launched a scheme of fruit marketing, especially of mangoes in the English markets. Its results will be awaited with great interest in Bombay and other provinces. It is doubtful, however, even if Bombay succeeds in finding a remunerative market in the West for its mangoes, whether other provinces will also be well advised to seek those markets. This would need practical experience and collection of statistical data regarding cost of transport, etc.

Fortunately India enjoys such a diversity of climates that it can grow all kinds of fruits known the world over. Thus Kashmir, Kumaon hills in U. P. and Kulu valley of the Punjab and Quetta grow very good apples, peaches, plums, cherries and apricots, etc. The plains of U. P. and Bihar are famous for their mangoes, lichees and loquats. The Central Provinces are renowned with their Nagpuri oranges. The Bombay Presidency is known for its Alfonso mangoes, bananas, Sapotas, etc., the Punjab for its Maltas and grapefruits; Bengal for its cocoanuts, bananas and mangoes and so on. This industry, as a whole, still remains in the hands of the uneducated and untrained *malis* for production and various contractors, for marketing. It is no doubt true that there are several very large orchards and some of them are looked after by their owners, yet due to the general ignorance, the orchards do not form such a good commercial proposition as they should. The orchards planted and maintained in a modern way and for purely commercial purposes can be counted on finger's tips. It needs no mention that most of the orchards were planted for the sake of pleasure and domestic consumption.

The lack of scientific knowledge as regards suitable varieties to be planted, their quality, cultural methods and aftercare, suitability of manures for different fruits, prevention of fungus diseases and insect pests, methods of picking and packing etc., has added immensely to the difficulties of the grower, who has no other alternative but to rely on his own *mali* for this information. The non-availability of reliable and genuine nursery plants true to name, has further marred the progress.

Apart from the production, the marketing has suffered very badly in the hands of the contractors. Unless suitable markets for the different fruits are sought and organised on a scientific and cooperative basis, no progress can be achieved. Organisation of fruit markets on the lines of the American and English fruit marketing associations is very essential. This should be done by the Agricultural Departments in co-operation with the central body of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. It is gratifying to note that marketing officers are going to be appointed for agricultural commodities and I would urge upon the authorities to include the marketing of fruits and their products as well in their duties.

Suggestions

1. *The local market should be organised* :—At present every market has its own rules, weights, etc. which a grower away from the market does not know; thus he is at the mercy of the controllers of the market who are also the retailers. Definite rules and regulations with standard weights should be made by the Government and enforced by the local bodies with the assistance of the Provincial Fruit Association and its district branches. The Municipal Boards may be directed to control these markets and appoint one of their Sanitary Inspectors to look after the disposal and sale of fruits. He may further be asked to keep an eye on the market hygiene, preventing all chances of spread of disease through the medium of fruits. He may properly disinfect the market once a week.

2. *Railway freights should be reduced* :—The present scale of railway freights on all parcels connected with fruit is half the luggage rate on passenger trains. This is simply exorbitant and cannot be paid by the fruit-growers; hence a lot of fruit is wasted due to lack of local market. If the railway freights could be reduced by one-half, that is, made quarter of the luggage rates, on all fruit parcels, a good deal of fruit trade will develop which means an extra revenue for the State.

3. *Transport facilities by railways* :—That most of the fruit decays during transit, when transported from one station to another, is an open secret. This is partly due to bad packing, but mostly due to the infrequent and slow running of trains, especially in the hot weather when bulk of the fruits is transported from one place to another. The railways should provide cold storage facilities and fast running trains arranged at such timings that they may reach the important markets in the early mornings. If necessary, more than one Parcel train at an accelerated speed should be run during this period. Booking of parcels also takes a long time and it will be better if one separate booking clerk for fruit parcels be engaged during the fruit season from June to August. Again storage facilities at the railway stations, where parcels remain from the time of booking till the departure of the train (a period which occasionally exceeds twelve hours), should be adequate to prevent any decay. Refrigerated vans should be

provided for long distance parcels and delicate fruits, e. g. strawberry, gooseberry, lichee etc. without any extra charge.

4. *Preservation of the surplus fruit* :—Almost all the fruit-growing countries except India preserve their surplus fruits in cans or make jams, jellies, juices etc. India is importing more than 3 crores worth of canned fruit every year. If India could preserve all the fruit that decays in her markets, she can develop a beautiful industry of her own both for Indian and Western markets. Since India enjoys such a diversity of climate that almost all kinds of fruits can be grown in her different parts, she can preserve all the varieties of fruits. In addition, India enjoys the natural monopoly of growing best varieties of mangoes and lichees. She can develop a very good trade in these fruits by simply preservation them in syrup. Other products like the tomato catsup, green peas, lemon and orange squashes and jams and jellies can be made for her own market, thus preventing a good deal of foreign product from coming in her markets. Although no research work has yet been done on the preservation of fruits, a stride has been made by the Punjab Agricultural Department towards it. Recently some concerns have sprung up in Lahore for making the different products. But since Punjab is a province which grows neither mangoes nor litchies, she cannot attempt preservation of these fruits. A fruit preservation factory has been recently started at Muzaffarnagar, U. P., for preserving mangoes and litchies and manufacturing other products, under the name of SHANTI BROTHERS. I take this opportunity of welcoming this concern and wishing it every success. The organisers worked the factory during the last season only for experimental purposes ; they have now gained a good deal of experience and collected the data for successful preservation of these fruits. They hope, in the coming season, to make a good number of these and try all available Indian and Western markets. From the reports so far received by them from various English and Indian consumers, they have been assured of their success and a good market. Such concerns should be given every encouragement and facility both by State and public aid. They will go a long way in solving our problems connected with the marketing of fruits.

5. *Propaganda* :—India is a poor country and eats very little fruit. Along with the development of fruit production, it is necessary that people should consume more fruit. Regular propaganda in exhibitions and local fairs should be carried out by the Provincial Fruit-Growers' Associations and 'EAT MORE FRUIT' campaigns should be launched. Annual fruit shows like the one held in the Punjab should be held regularly in every province and propaganda both for producing and consuming fruit may be carried on. In England various associations have started such campaigns and it is in the fitness of things that India should also induce her people to consume more fruit. The diet of Indian people is seldom perfect in vitamins and people should be taught the value of fruits in relation to vitamins. The vitamin content of fruits is the highest and in some cases,

is their monopoly. Thus vitamin C is to be found only in fruits. I am sure with regular advertisement and propaganda the country will start consuming more fruit and thus have a stronger generation to fight her cause in future.

Briefly it may be stated that fruit-growing has a very wide scope for development and can associate a number of cottage industries with it, if carefully worked on. Thus a good many of our unemployed brethren can find a remunerative industry best suited to their own lands with a very little amount of capital. I can confidently say that if fruit growing is carried on in India scientifically, people will find it a very sound and profitable industry.



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The New Orissa Province

BY BIDYADHAR SING DEO, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.,

President, Utkal Samaj, Vizagapatam.

THE Joint Parliamentary Committee has very rightly recommended the inclusion of the Oriya tracts in the Jeypore Agency in the proposed new province of Orissa. It may be asserted that the said arrangement has been a sort of compromise imposed upon the Oriyas by the Secretary of State for India and the Oriyas have to remain partly dissatisfied with it. Nevertheless, so far as is generally known, the Oriyas are ever ready to run their new Province and the reforms with such partial satisfaction.

All parties in India have practically agreed to the formation of Orissa as a separate Province. But unfortunately a movement has been set afoot by a few Andhra leaders opposing the extension of southern boundary of the Oriya Province. Dewan Bahadur Ram Chandra Rao had rendered impetus to it by declaring from the house-top that the Agency in Vizagapatam is full of aboriginal races, who are neither Telugu nor Oriya. The learned Dewan Bahadur further asserts that education of the tribes in the Agency will be neglected in case Jeypore is transferred to Orissa. May I draw his attention to the education statistics of the other backward tracts in India? In my article on Survey of Customs and Languages in the Agency, I have fully discussed the percentage of aborigines, and have quoted authorities to prove that they are always Oriya-assimilating in their nature. The papers relating to Meriah sacrifice in Khondisthan give us valuable information as to how, in days of yore, the Meriah Commissioners had to approach the Khonds and Savaras through Oriya Bissois and Patros (village headmen) and how Oriya is used as lingua franca in the Agency, and how Khond language was reduced to a written form by Captain Frye by using Oriya character, and later on several of such kind of works were introduced in the schools established in Khondisthan. "The inhabitants of Orissa range of hills are called respectively Khonds, Gonds, and Sourahs. At present villages of both Oriyas and Khonds are scattered throughout the wide and dense forests of Patna, Kalahandy, Jeypore, Kariall, and Nowguddah. No Khonds, however, are to be found westward of Kariall and Nowguddah. The space over which the wild tribe is scattered, extends from the North of the Mahanuddy to as far south as the river Godavery.

"Between these two points the country is divided into forty or fifty petty principalities, ruled over by the chiefs of the Ooriya caste. For although the Khonds who inhabit only the mountain ranges, profess to be very independent, they in reality are subject to these low country rulers, and, in one way or other, acknowledge a certain kind of submission.

"The hill districts of Orissa, termed in their language Maliah, from the Sanskrit Mala, a garland, so called from the abundance of jungle, are peopled generally by Khonds, or Kui as they call themselves. There are, however, other wild tribes, named respectively Koles, Gonds and Sourahs." (*Vide-Personal narrative of service amongst wild tribes of Khondistan*).

Now let us see whether the Agency portion of Vizagapatam was included in Orissa as mentioned by the officers of the East India Company.

Lt. Col. Campbell says "Orissa lies between the eighteenth and twenty-third and eighty-seventh of the east longitude. Its boundaries are the Bay of Bengal on the east, Gondwana on the west, the river Godavery on the south and Behar and Bengal on the north. Its extreme length is about 400 miles, its average breadth seventy, and it encloses an area of twenty-eight thousand square miles."

In this connection we should remember that Col. Cambell's Orissa comprised that portion of natural Orissa which was declared by the India Government as an area affected by human sacrifice prevalent then in the country. In the course of describing an aboriginal village the same Col. observes :—

"Each village has its own chief, or Mulleko, and with him is joined an officer, called Digaloo, or interpreter, of the Panoo caste, a race most useful to the Khond tribe. Districts again are governed by a chief of the Ooryah extraction, named the Bissoi. These men are Hindus, and are usually descended from some daring adventurer whose fallen fortunes had driven him to the hills, where, with his band of retainers, he had been warmly welcomed by the mountain tribes, as the Khonds regard these Hindu warriors as much more capable of ruling over them, and especially of leading them to battle, than any of their own tribe."

Thus the Agency of Jeypore was included in Orissa in the year 1845. One may also learn from the statistical papers relating to India printed for the Court of Directors of the East India Company, 1853, that Jeypore Agency had to continue for a pretty long time as a tributary State having its location in Orissa. Mr. Oram in his report on Jeypore or Nandapur Dominion in 1784 said that Jeypore Zamindari was one of the principalities under the old Gajapathis of Puri and it was given away to one of their cognates as marriage dowry. Captain Owen writes on Jeypore in the year 1855 as follows : "The villagers are mostly poor, and very lightly clad, with waist cloth and handkerchief as turban; they are small in frame and stature, with large faces, small heads, and a Mongolian expression of countenance, not intelligent looking, language Woodia (Oriya), use tobacco, but opium rarely."

Carmichael writes that the officers under the Meriah Agency were so successful in their operation because they could acquire 'very sufficient knowledge both of the Uriya and of the Khond dialects.'

The Orissa Boundary Committee have unequivocally asserted that Oriyas in remote ages have extended the Agency tracts and introduced civilisation among the hill tribes. The Committee is satisfied that in course of time the tribal language will give place to Oriya which is the predominant language in the Agency. "Mulleko" is an Oriya word and the weavers in Oriya are called "Panoos".

In my Memorandum on Jeypore Agency submitted before the Rt. Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, a summary of which was published in the *Landholders' Journal* (June 1933), I quoted correct figures of Oriya population and the percentage of Oriya-assimilating tribes in Jeypore from the Census report of 1931.

Let me now quote from the writings and speeches of the Andhra leaders and patriots to show how they have viewed the question of Jeypore Agency from time to time. The Hon'ble N. Subbarau Pantulu (Rajahmundry) said "I have been trying to work out the problem of constituting the Telugu Districts into a separate province. As far as I can see, portions of the plains in the Ganjam District as well as the whole of the Agency of the Ganjam District and a greater portion of the Agency of the Vizagapatam District shall have to go to Orissa, the Telugu speaking people in the Ganjam Agency being only 6,000 against 1,32,392 Oriya speaking people, and in the Vizagapatam Agency the Telugu speaking people being 1,70,626 against 4,73,437 Oriya speaking."

Referring to the attitude of the Andhras in Circars on the question of the formation of a separate Andhra Province, the Hon'ble Kesava Pillai once said :

"Logically, then, you carve out a Province of each of the following, viz :—the Oriyas, Telugus, Tamilians, Malayalese, Canarese and other communities of the Dravidian family. I hope the Telugus will not resent if we would still count them as members of the Dravidian family, as an indignity cast upon the great 'Andhra race'. The Oriyas were not far wrong, then, when they demanded to be separated from the Telugus and added to their brethren in Orissa ; and yet the Telugus of the Northern Districts in the Circars have furiously protested against such a renditon".

V. Suryanarayan Rau of Masulipatam commented on the opinion of the Hon'ble Kesava Pillai as follows :—

"But as regards long-standing divisions at least in one case—that of Bengal—the settled fact has been unsettled, and Bihar has been converted to a separate Province though it is an anomaly that Orissa should have been tacked on to it. Three Telugu sections of the Central Provinces have been joined to the Godavary district. Our Government has lately divided North Arcot into two and

annexed Chittoor to the Northern Group. Thus we see that even our rulers clearly recognise the advisability of dividing territories according to languages for their administrative convenience. Why should not such changes be made in regard to Oriya Taluks in Vizagapatam and Ganjam Districts, to South Canara, and the Canarese Telugus in Bellary and to Malabar?"

Thus the Andhra leaders have all along admitted the claim of the Oriyas over Jeypore Agency and other Oriya tracts in Ganjam and pronounced more than once that they should be transferred to Orissa when the Oriyas get their political unit separately recognised by the Government. Now that the Government is disposed to meet the claims of the Oriyas in this respect, does it behove them to raise a voice of protest?

Very recently the *Madras Mail* wrote on the reactions of Andhra opposition to the Joint Committee proposals about the Southern boundaries of Orissa, in its issue of the 25th December 1934, as follows :—

"The position in India to-day resembles that of Europe at the close of the Great War. New National claims were then asserted, new boundaries had to be fixed, but the powers delineating them found that they could not draw any line in any area without excluding many who should be inside. In their dilemma they adopted the principle of satisfying the majority and protecting the minorities by safeguards. The Joint Committee's Report has adopted the same course, the only practical one in the circumstances. And if, in the fullness of time, an Andhra Province is created, those responsible for bringing it into existence will, we dare assert, adopt similar methods. For the only other alternative is the wholesale transplanting of peoples, and we have yet to see this suggested by any Andhra spokesman.

"The two prominent phases of our history during the last 1000 years had been internecine warfare and foreign aggression, the Indians were either fighting among themselves or had been ruled by others. Even if it is possible for the Indians to turn out the British bag and baggage, there is no guarantee of continuance of peaceful and prosperous conditions in the country".

This view is directly or indirectly shared by all parties, including the Liberal. Yet some Liberal leaders are found to advocate or support the imposition of non-Oriya claims over purely Oriya tracts. I venture to suggest that this is communalism—an obstinate and inveterate bias for one's own community, no less objectionable than the communalism which they accuse the British Government of fostering in the White Paper proposals.

The J. P. C. Report

Critical Study

BY L. N. SARIN.

THE report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee has seen the light of day. A student of practical politics, if he had watched the Indian political situation with his eyes open, would not be surprised at the reactions produced by the publication of the report. An idealist, spoon-fed on the high-sounding phraseology of visionary theorists, would easily dub the report as the culminating point of British hypocrisy and insincerity. To him it would read as a document replete with broken promises, a report intended to strengthen the hands of the Bureaucracy in order to stifle Indian Nationalism. The criticism of the report of this class of critics is a joke at best, a prejudice at worst, and reminds one of Mr. Lloyd George's well-known sentence that there is nothing more reckless than a stern and unbending doctrinaire once he breaks loose. Bankrupt of statesmanship, a purely extremist class of critics, they appear to have taken refuge in a counsel of despair and pessimism.

Lord Linlithgow and his Colleagues

The framers of the report, despite numerous difficulties and in the face of persistent reactionary propaganda, have given a very creditable account of themselves. True to themselves they have acted in a conscientious way and fostered the Indian cause to the farthest practicable point. Lord Linlithgow may well in the retrospect say that "one may then laudably desire not to be counted a fool by wise men, nor a knave by good men, nor a fanatic by sober men. One may desire to show that the cause for which he has laboured so hard is not so preposterous intellectually, morally and politically as of late it has been made to appear by its noisier and more aggressive representatives, that he has never been duped by the sophistries and puerilities of its approved controversialists, but has rested on graver and worthier reasons, that even if his defence of it should have failed, he has not failed in courage or candour or sincerity; nor has he ever wittingly lent himself to the defence of folly or imposture". The tone of the report is consistently sincere and out-spoken and the framers have handled a very complicated problem in a masterly manner. Rightly do they advise the British people to quicken the pace and warn against the disastrous course of lingering it out any further. With characteristic sagacity and acumen do they observe that the Indian problem cannot be understood unless the reality of these

political aspirations is frankly recognised at the outset. The subtle ferments of education, the impact of the War and beginnings of that sense of Nationality to which we have referred have combined to create a public opinion in India which would be profound error for Parliament to ignore. It is true, of course, that those who entertain these aspirations constitute but a small fraction of the vast population of India. Nevertheless a public opinion does exist strong enough to affect what has been for generations the main strength of the Government of India. History has repeatedly shown the unwisdom of judging the political consciousness of a people by the standard of its least interested class.

India's Gain

Based upon a clear and sympathetic study of the Indian situation the report marks a landmark in the constitutional development of the country. Provincial Autonomy with partial responsibility at the Centre is by no means a mean achievement. The much-maligned dyarchy is to make room for a system of Government in which the Ministers will be responsible over the whole Provincial field, Law and Order included. The Provincial electorate will be increased by 28 millions and women voters are to be no less than 6 million. There will be two new Provinces, Sindh and Orissa, and the Provinces of Bengal, U. P., Bihar, Madras and Bombay are to have Second Chambers. All this with minimum delay is to be followed by an all-India Federation under one responsible Government. One might, taking the totality of circumstances into consideration, say with ample justification that the new constitution as envisaged by the report would be a positive and substantial improvement upon the one in existence at present. It would mean real transfer of power into the Indian hands and leave India but one step behind her cherished goal of Dominion Status.

The Safeguards

The inhospitable critics of the report have mostly based their criticism upon the safeguards out of which they have endeavoured to make good capital. The safeguards, they argue, make the new Constitution a sham and a farce. "Whatever criticism may be levelled against them", remarked a very prominent ex-Congressman, "it must be admitted that the present state of India demands their existence on the Statute Book". No less a personage than Mahatma Gandhi has recognised their importance and utility during the present period of transition. The crucial point to be examined is whether the safeguards are intended to choke democratic instincts of the popular Houses or whether they are meant to avert dismal crises. No sane person would object to the Governors' using their special powers to check terrorism or other disintegrating activities of impatient reformers. Every constitution in the world keeps a reserve of safeguards to meet exceptionally critical situations that require immediate attention. The existence of the Defence of the Realm Act in England is an instance in point. The American President, too, has certain special powers

that he can use to tide over political crises. Whatever the verdict of the critics of the safeguards, however severe their indictment, we cannot deny that such safeguards as have been embodied in the Report are a *sincqua non* for the smooth functioning of the New Constitution either when it is subject to a breaking strain or pushed to the brink of a precipice conclusions.

Looking back on the most obvious parties who condemn the Report either as Document of reactionarism or that of abject surrender, we find foolish futility emerging in a refusal to come to grips with facts on one side and selfish bewilderment on the other. The report describes the past, explains the present and with brilliant statesmanship explores the future. The framers defend their solutions with irrefutable logic and expose the impossibility of a reactionary policy. They are themselves fully alive to the practical difficulties and impress them upon the peoples of the two countries. Equally alive to magnificent record of the British rule and of the genuine qualities of Indian Nationalism the framers do not make an attempt to blind their readers to the deficiencies of either. It would not be wrong to say that the greatest merit of the report is its sense of proportion. Its readers should, therefore, make logic and not emotion their criterion of judgment not forgetting that the political liberty of a people is a growth and not galvanism.

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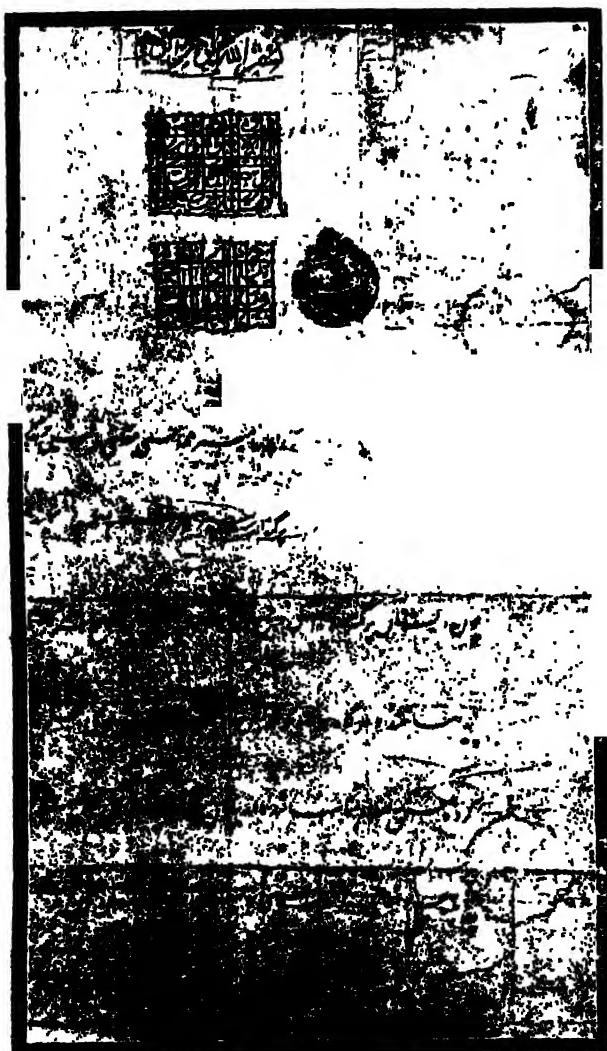
(Chicago, U. S. A.).

Sole Agency in the East,

Batala (PUNJAB).

Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai of Bansberia

KUMAR Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai, M.L.C., son of Raja Purnendu Deb Rai Mahasai of the Bansberia Raj, one of the oldest and most respected Sovereign Houses of Bengal, was born at the Bansberia Fort on the 26th August, 1874. The Bansberia Raj has its headquarters in the district of Hooghly and has a connected and regular history for over one thousand years and one of which it may well be proud.



Sanad of the hereditary title of "Raja Mahasai" granted to
Raja Rameswar Rai Mahasai by Emperor Aurangzeb
in 1673 A. D.

During the Hindu period it supplied three Prime Ministers and three Commanders-in-chief and during the Pathan period two Commanders-in-chief. Prior to Moghul invasion Raja Ganesh and his son, Raja Jadu, of this family were independent Kings of Bengal, ruling extensive territories. It may be mentioned that Ramayana was for the first time translated into Bengali verse in the court of king Ganesh. During the Moghul period the status of the Bansberia Raj was that of a Feudatory State with the fullest independence in regard to its internal affairs. Titles and honours were showered on the family by Emperors Akbar, Jehangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. Two members of this family served as Provincial Governors. Even up to the time of Nawab Alivardi Khan the family enjoyed Feudatory Status, paying an annual



Raja Nrisinha Deb Rai Mahasai
Born 1713 Died 1802.

of ancient monuments of historic and architectural interest. There are two magnificent forts—one of Raja Rameswar, popularly called the "Garbhati" or The Fort, and the other of Raja Raghu Deb, known as the "Bahir-Garh" or the Outer Fort—which excite the wonder of visitors for the evidence they furnish of an engineering skill in this construction which may justifiably be envied in this modern age.

The family temple of Basudeb built by Raja Rameswar in 1679 A. D., is famous for its artistic bas-relief of mythological figures. The temple of Swambhaba was built in 1788 A. D. by Raja Nrisinha Deb. The temple of Hamsesvari, built in 1814 A. D. under orders of Rani Sankari, wife of Raja Nrisinha Deb, is one of the handsomest buildings

tribute of over half a crore of rupees. Few families in Bengal can show a better record of moral ascendancy than the Bansberia Raj. Not a single plot of land was ever added to the family estate by deception, fraud or spoliation. A major portion of the family property was lost during the minority of Raja Nrisinha Deb Rai Mahasai. Burdwan and Nadia grew up during this period. Raja Purnendu Deb Rai Mahasai materially helped the British Government during the dark days of the Sepoy Mutiny.

One of the outstanding attractions of Bansberia is the abundance



Raja Purnendu Deb Rai Mahasai



The avenue leading to the Bansberia Fort

way an eminently worthy scion of this ancient and illustrious family. He is universally respected for his high character, wide culture, profound scholarship and his tireless labours for public good and in the cause of education and learning. He was educated in the Hooghly College and the St Xavier's College, Calcutta, before obtaining his degree. He was presented at the Viceregal Levee in 1899. He had the proud privilege of receiving distinguished visitors like Lord Curzon, Sir John Woodburn, Kt., Sir James Bourdillan, Sir Herbert Risley, Sir C. W. Boulton, Lord Sinha at his Bansberia residence.

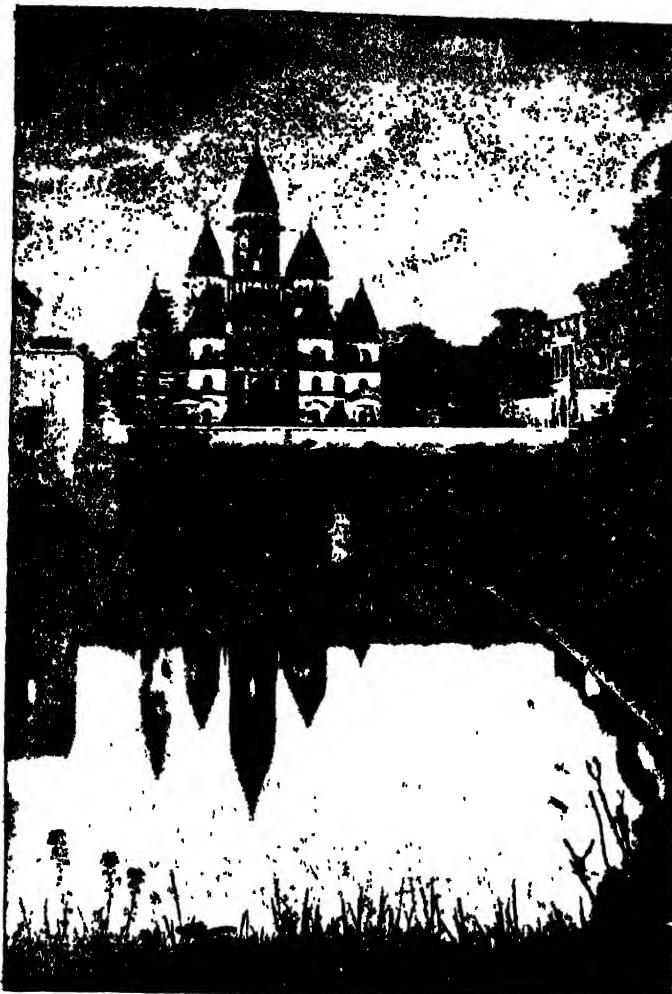
in Bengal and is a wonder in architectural conception and finish.

The Bansberia Raj family has all through its long and eventful history been noted for its love of learning and its boundless munificence in the promotion of learning. Raja Rameswar Rai Mahasai maintained an University of Oriental Learning at Bansberia, and his son Raja Raghu Deb Rai Mahasai gave away one hundred thousand bighas of rent-free land for the upkeep of Tols (Sanskrit Colleges) and for the maintenance of learned men and pious Brahmins.

Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai is in every



Gateway to Bansberia Fort.



Bansberia Hanseswari Temple (Reflected in the Hansa Lake)

an area of nearly 500 bighas. From that day onward the march of events have been rapid. Jungle covered, malaria-stricken habitations have been converted into sanitary areas. Long range of buildings for mills and mill hands, stately mansions for European Managers and their assistants, picturesque tennis courts and golf courses have changed the whole aspect within a few years. A plot of about 300 bighas of land was leased out by theh Bansberia Raj to Messrs Macneil & Co. with the exception of some private passages and laues which were used by their tenants, the right was given up by them to enable the Municipality to further the Water Works Scheme by the utilisation of its sale proceeds which amounted to Rs. 40,000. Through Kumar Munindra Deb's untiring efforts the Water Works of the Municipality costing one lakh of rupees is now complete and continuous supply of pure drinking water is being maintained and house connections have been given on an extensive scale. Electric cables have already been laid underneath the streets which will shortly be lighted with electricity, and the drainage scheme is making good progress. Through his influence a donation of Rs. 75,000 was, raised for opening a Hospital and Maternity Home at Bansberia to afford medical relief to suffering humanity within the Municipality. The Hospital has been named after the donor and Kumar Munindra Deb is the Administrator of the Hospital and Maternity Home.

Female education received an impetus at his hands and under his inspiring guidance three schools for girls have been founded within the

He has been serving as an Independent Honorary Magistrate of Hooghly since 1902 and is a Member of the Hooghly District Board and is also a Non-official Visitor to the Hooghly District Jail and Serampore Subsidiary Jail. He is the Chairman of the Bansberia Municipality. The 17th day of June, 1921 saw the drawing of a new era in the history of the Municipal administration of Bansberia. It was on that day that the Bansberia Raj signed the indenture granting permission to construct mills and factories over their estates covering

Municipality and are being conducted on sound principles. Several girl school buildings notably the "Chinsurah Balika Bani Mandir" owe their existence to his munificence and liberality.

His scheme for free and compulsory Primary Education at Bansberia has been approved and will be given effect to as soon as Government recovers from the present financial stringency.



Bansberia Vishnu Temple—Built 1679.

The Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government, Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Kt. in course of his reply to the address presented by the Bansberia Municipality on 12th August, 1934 referring to the activities of Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai, M.L.C. said :—

"Bansberia may be congratulated on being able to keep itself abreast of time through the introduction of civic amenities and gradual moderni-



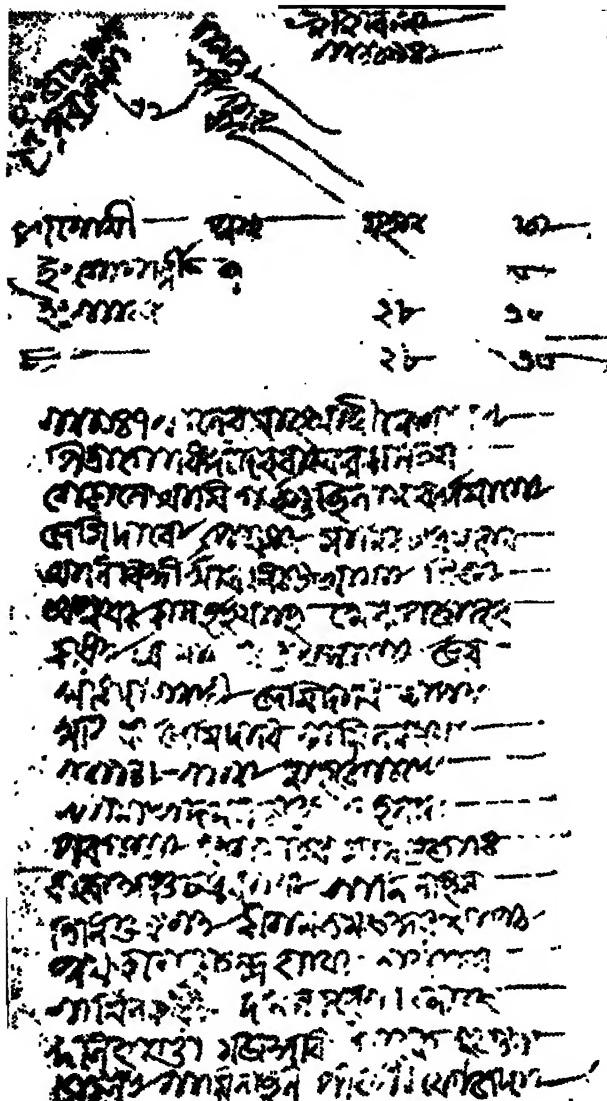
Coat of Arms—Bansberia Raj.

sation due to the growth of industry within its Municipal limits. It is the seat of a family of zamindars well known for liberality and public spirit, fully befitting their noble lineage and high culture. One cannot think of Bansberia without the activities of that family with which this place is so intimately associated.

*** I am glad to learn that your Water Supply Scheme is a successful one towards which Government contributed

Rs. 32,000, the balance being met solely from donations and subscriptions so that the work could be completed without any loan. This is a great improvement to your Municipality and by it you have fulfilled one of the primary obligations of a civic body. *** It is a matter of great satisfaction to me learn that you are making an attempt to improve the Municipal amenities by opening out parks and introducing primary education. I am sure by all these improvements you will be setting an excellent example to other Municipalities of your standing and resources".

He is the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bansabati Co-operative Bank Ltd., Director of Tarakeswar Co-operative Sale and Supply Society Ltd., and President, Bengal Library Association, Hooghly District Library Association, Bansberia Public Library, S. C. Institute Kalighat, Bansberia High English School Committee, Bansberia Girl's School, Kalighat Perpetual Club and N. M. Library, Bansberia Defence Force, Kalighat Bani Mandir, Yaramalla Smriti Samity at Tarakeswar and he is



Handwritten Autobiography of Raja Nrisinha Deb Rai Mahasai.

ty. He was a member of the Committee appointed by the Syndicate of the Calcutta University to formulate a scheme for training of librarians in the University. He is a member of the National Liberal Federation of India, Hooghly Industrial Association, Arboricultural Committee of the Hooghly District Board. He is also a prominent member of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad, Presidency Medical Education Society, Academy of Literature and Science. He is a Patron of Hooghly Central Association, Bengal Krishak O' Raiyat Sabha, Bangiya Sahitya and Sangit Sangha and other useful institutions.

He was the Editor of the "The Eastern Voice"—an English Daily, "The United Bengal"—a weekly journal and "The Purnima"—a Bengali monthly magazine for several years. He is one of the Editors of the "The Indian Library Journal" published from Bezwada and is the pioneer of the Library Movement in Bengal and is a contributor of articles in almost all the leading journals of India and abroad and is also the Editor of the "Kayestha Patrika" an organ of the Kayestha community of Bengal. Referring to the Kumar's activities regarding the Library Movement in Bengal, the Hon'ble Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Kt. said in reply to the address presented by the Hooghly District Library Association :

the Vice-President of Indian Library Association, All-India Public Library Association ; Hooghly District Landholders' Association, Kalighat People's Association, Kalighat Institute, Ward No. 22 A Kalighat Health Association, Chinsurah Physical Institute and is the Honorary Secretary of the Hooghly Historical Research Association. He was Chairman of the Public Libraries' Enquiry Commission as also a member of the Standing Committee for Judicial and Jails of the Bengal Legislative Council. He was charge - Superintendent of the census operations of 1931 of Bansberia Municipality.

"It is undoubtedly the duty of all who are interested in the advancement of education and culture to help the library movement so nobly



Basudeb Temple Built - 1679.

carried out by you and your president Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai, M.L.C. whose devotion to the cause of libraries is really commendable".



Opening of the Bansberia Municipal Water Works, Bansberia Hospital and Maternity Home by the Hon'ble Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Kt., Minister, L. S. G on 12th August, 1934

Sitting—Hon'ble Minister with the Chairman Kumar Munindra Deb and the District Magistrate Mr. D. MacPherson, I. C. S.

Standing—The Municipal Commissioners.

He is the author of 1. Hooghly-Kahini—a history of Hooghly. 2. Benares and Sarnath 3. Current Problem 4. Decadence of Rural Bengal 5. Sinhal-Dwip (An illustrated account of Ceylon) 6. Dakshin-Bharat—(An illustrated history of Southern India) 7. Utter-Bharat. 8. Mathura and

Brindaban. 9. Delhi, Past and Present. 10. Bansberia, Past and Present. 11. Saptagram a Glory that is no more. 12. Pandua, an ancient city in ruins. 13. Tribeni, a seat of ancient culture. 14. Bandel and its chequered history. 15. Hooghly under the Moghuls. 16. History made by rivers, and, several other works of outstanding merit.

He is an elected Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, representing Hooghly Municipal (Non-Muhamadan) Constituency. He is an elected Member of the Standing Committee of Commerce & Marine and Jails. Of his many successful achievements in the Council the most outstanding were the Bengal Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1931 for granting franchise to those who possessed educational qualifications, the Bengal Village Self-Government (Amendment) Act, 1932 for empowering Union Boards to undertake small irrigation projects and to provide grants-in-aid to charitable dispensaries and public libraries within their jurisdiction and the Calcutta Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1932. In the latter he scored a victory over Government opposition by 55 to 38 votes. This was perhaps the only defeat which Government suffered in the present Council at the hands of a non-official member. In this Act provision was made to separate Kalighat from Ward No. 22 and create a new Ward for it. At the last general election of the Corporation of Calcutta held in March, 1933 immediate effect was given to the Act and the newly-separated Ward called Ward 22A elected his nominee as Councillor. This was undoubtedly a great achievement on his part. His resolution to appoint none but Bengalees to the public services of Bengal was unanimously carried at the session of the Bengal Legislative Council held on 10th August, 1933.

The provision of his Bengal Local Self-Government (Amendment) Bill 1931 to empower District Boards to make grants to public libraries and reading rooms within their jurisdiction; the Bengal Municipal (amendment) Bill, 1931 for the removal of sex disqualification in Bengal Municipalities, the Bengal Municipal (Amendment No. II) Bill, 1931 to supplement the income of Municipalities by the levy of a tax on trades, professions and callings; The Bengal Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1931, for the levy of a tax on motor vehicles and utilising same for the development of roads, bridges and other communications—the provisions of these four Bills were incorporated in the Bills introduced by Government and passed viz.; Bengal Local Self-Government (Amendment) Act, 1932, Bengal Municipal Act, 1932 and Bengal Motor Vehicles Tax Act, 1932 respectively.

Of the Bills introduced by him in the Council the Bengal Cattle Bill, 1931 to provide for the protection of cattle generally and the Bengal Pasture Bill, 1932, to secure the right of pasturage formerly used as such and to provide sufficient and suitable food for cattle deserve notice. They were, however, held over for want of sufficient support in the Council to the motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice Lort Williams issued letters to the Members to support the Bills.

Of the important Bills in which he served in the Select Committee may be mentioned the Government Bills—the Bengal Municipal Bill, the Bengal Local Self-Government Amendment Bill and the Bengal Village Self-Government Amendment Bill, 1934.

Kumar Munindra Deb's valuable evidence before the Bengal Retrenchment Committee, popularly known as the Swan Committee, deserves notice, as also his memorandum to the Indian Franchise Committee.

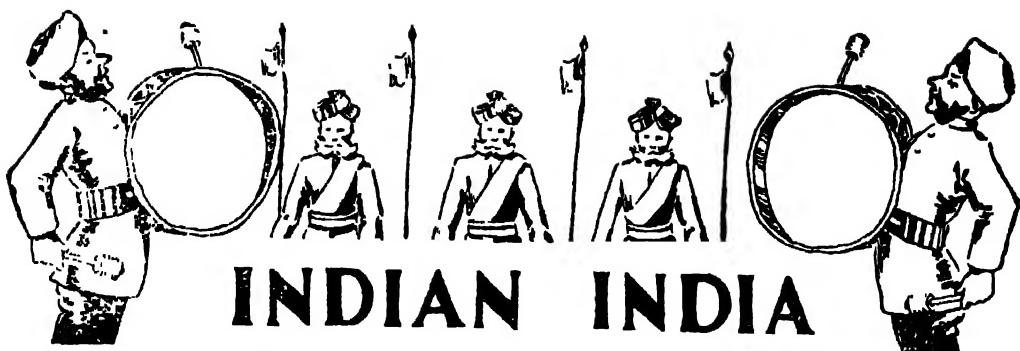
Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai is a true patriot and a statesman of no mean order. He is a leader of political thought in modern Bengal. His remarkable speeches on the liquidation of illiteracy twice delivered at the Serampore Town Hall and repeated at Konnagore and Baidyabati had immediate effect in the establishment of night schools in those localities. This speech was printed and reprinted in two of the leading magazines in Bengal.

Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai recently presided over the 9th All-India Public Library Conference held at Royapettah, Congress House, Madras. His presidential address was much appreciated by all shades of public opinion in India as would be evident from the editorial notes published in all the periodicals of the day. It may be mentioned here that the Bengali Presidents—Deshabandhu Chittaranjan was the first, and the second was Sir P. C. Roy and the third is Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai. Rightly has our contemporary "Praburtak" said that it is an unique honour and a glory to Bengal and the Kumar deserves the best thanks of his countrymen.

He has made a name and fame for himself by his remarkable speeches in the Legislative Council and by his successful administration of the Bansberia Municipality which he has transformed into an ideal town—a centre of culture and enlightenment. He travelled throughout the length and breadth of India and in some of His Majesty's colonies in order to make a comparative study of the self-governing Institutions and other outstanding problems. He studied the irrigation problem of Bengal like a keen student, visiting the dead and dying rivers, rivulets, khals, bills, jhils even in the inaccessible parts of the province at considerable sacrifice of time and money as would be evident from his indefatigable labours for their resuscitation. His masterly speeches on the Irrigation problem in each and every session of the Council as also his contributions in the press for a quarter of a century show the deep and abiding interest he takes for the welfare of his countrymen.

In the domain of politics, economics, art, literature and science, in the field of journalism and legislation, in social service, in affording relief to humanity, in judicial and civic administration, in the diffusion of knowledge, in the advancement of intellectual and physical culture, in the administration of his pretty large estate and the solution of knotty land problems, in banking, currency and exchange he has few equals among his compeers. His manifold activities in various spheres for the well-being of his country have won for him universal respect and admiration.

May the traditions of this ancient family whose antiquity goes back to early Muhammadan rule and which has produced so many distinguished sons of India continue to serve as a beacon light to all workers in the field of humanitarian and social service and may God shower His choicest blessings upon the sons and daughters of this princely family.



HYDERABAD

The Nizam's Government have in view a reorganisation of the educational system in the State, based, it is reported, on schemes outlined recently by Sir Akbar Hydari at the Moslem Educational Conference at Bombay and by Mr. A. H. Mackenzie at the recent conference of the Hyderabad Teachers' Association. The Government have started making enquiries in that connection and are issuing questionnaires to heads of representative public institutions interested in education to ascertain their opinion. The latter have been requested to consider the following points :—

(1) Reorganisation of the educational course into four stages, namely, primary, secondary, collegiate and university ; (2) division of secondary schools into two classes rural and urban, the former with compulsory agricultural courses, and the latter with compulsory manual training courses ; (3) establishment of different types of colleges giving parallel course of instruction in (a) arts and sciences, (b) agriculture, (c) commerce and (d) industry ; (4) establishment of a State Board of Secondary Education for supervising the system of secondary and collegiate education ; (5) abolition of the Intermediate examination and extension of the course of Bachelor's degree from two to three years ; and (6) abolition of the bicameral system of education in the State.

The Government have appointed a Committee to consider the question thoroughly in the light of the views obtained and submit a detailed report with the Hon'ble Education Member as Chairman.

* * * *

A Press note issued by the Nizam Government states that in pursuance of a *firman* of His Exalted Highness mendicants of the Rātāi sect are prohibited from inflicting injuries on their bodies with iron instruments on public streets as a means of soliciting alms.

Violation of this order will be punished with a fine or, in default, with simple imprisonment. Such self-torture is declared a cognizable offence.

By another *communiqué* all preachers are instructed by the Government to refrain from indulging in any controversy with the followers of other religions and from uttering words which directly or by implication, might give cause for provocation to any sect.

* * * * *

A satisfactory feature of the recently issued report of the Civil Veterinary Department of the State for 1932-33 is the increasing demand on the services of the staff of the department which it has not been possible to meet fully in all cases. It is recognised that with increasing attention paid to the prevention and treatment of contagious diseases, it would not be possible for the limited veterinary staff of each district to devote sufficient attention to the treatment of ordinary diseases of the cattle of the agriculturists, nor could they find sufficient time to advise them on the methods of their proper breeding and feeding. To meet such demands properly and to give necessary aid to cattle-owners it was advisable to open rural veterinary dispensaries in important villages in the State.

But as the Government, with limited funds at their disposal could not open such dispensaries, the district local boards were expected to provide the necessary funds.

During the year under report there were 23,200 deaths from contagious as against 22,233 in the previous year. The number of animals treated rose from 2,90,843 to 3,68,860.

BARODA

In the State Legislative Assembly, the Government accepted three resolutions requesting them to empower village panchayats to try civil suits up to the value of Rs. 25, to transfer villages already established in forest areas from the Forest to the Revenue Department, and to make an economic survey of the Sonagada taluka with a view to taking necessary steps for the development of the area. They also accepted another resolution requesting them to start a rural reconstruction centre in the Mehsana district with the modification that the proposal would be considered after watching the progress of a similar centre established at Kosamba which was still in an experimental stage.

The Government were also moved to resubmit the Bill imposing legal restraint on marriages of persons of unequal age to the Maharaja Gaekwar for sanction which was refused on the ground that opportunity should be given to society for advancement by cultivating public opinion. It was urged by members including the mover that without legislation society stood no chance of eradicating the evil by itself. The Dewan Saheb accepted the motion and suggested the appointment of a small subjects committee to modify the Bill in the light of the discussion when a fresh representation [might be made to His Highness for reconsideration.

Three of the four bills, which make up official business in the current session of the Dharasabha, deal with Hindu Law. They are bills to amend the Hindu Joint Family Act, the Hindu Marriage Act and the Hindu Parents and Sons Act.

The main object of the amendments is to define in unequivocal terms the position of the different coparceners in a joint Hindu family with regard to their self-acquired property and income with a view to avoiding any disagreement arising between them on the question of family maintenance. According to the law in force, women have been granted a definite share in the property held by a joint Hindu family and also a right to hold in full ownership all self-acquired property or income. The law also lays down that a married Hindu woman, who is a member of a joint Hindu family, but having no share in the joint property has at least a right of maintenance therefrom. No provision has, however, been made in the law to ensure that a sufficient income is forthcoming for the purpose. The present Bills, therefore, aim at removing this anomalous position and make it incumbent upon all coparceners to bear the responsibility jointly by contributing a share towards family maintenance, if the property held in common between them is not sufficient for the purpose. A coparcener is, however, absolved from contributing any share towards expenses incurred by the family previous to the date he became an earning member.

One of the Bills also provides that subject to the proviso made above, a parent would have no right over the self-acquired property of his sons.

MYSORE

The Committee appointed by the Mysore Government to enquire into the extent to which the fall in the price of agricultural produce in recent years has affected the financial position of the landowning and cultivating classes and suggest measures to assist and relieve them have submitted their report. It is understood that the report is not unanimous, five of the non-official members having submitted minutes of dissent.

That all classes of ryots are not equally affected by the fall in prices, seems to be the view of the Committee. The classes which are most hard hit by the depression are the landholders who do not cultivate their lands at all or cultivate only a small portion of their holding.

The Committee, it is understood, have dealt exhaustively with the question of agricultural indebtedness. The volume of the total debt, they estimate at nothing less than Rs. 35 crores and this represents nearly 30 times the land revenue assessment of agricultural lands. The situation, they opine, is one of urgency and calls for immediate measures of relief. The Committee have suggested relief on the following lines : (1) Controlling rates of interest on loans, sometimes with retrospective effect, (2) prevention of expropriation of agriculturists during the present depression ; (3) establishment of debt conciliation boards ; and (4) the enactment of simple rural insolvency law. As regards the agency for conciliation, the Committee appear to suggest the appointment of *ad hoc* boards for each case preferably from among the persons residing in the area to which the debtor or the creditors belong, so that they can bring to their aid their personal knowledge of the local conditions, the relationship between the parties and the nature of the transactions. The Board is to be composed partly of nominees of the debtor and partly of those of the creditor with a Chairman to be selected by the Court. The debt conciliation boards should consider the following points, viz., the amount of consideration actually received, the rates of interest, onerous conditions, the repaying capacity of the debtor, etc.

The scheme should be run on a voluntary basis, although the majority of the Committee seem to be in favour of the introduction of compulsion in selected areas at the discretion of the Government.

The extension of the Land Mortgage Scheme on a large scale, so that every taluk may have one such society, is also recommended. Liberal grant of takavi loans, relief in the matter of the

enforcement of decrees of co-operative societies against agricultural debtors, the extension of the rule of damdupat to Mahomedan debtors, the establishment of regulated markets in suitable places, the appointment of a marketing officer and a suitable scheme of consolidation of holdings—these seem to be some of the other recommendations made by the Committee.

The Committee, it is understood, is divided on the question of a reduction of the land revenue assessment. Five non-official members, who urge the need of a reduction, hold that the payment of land revenue constitutes one of the causes of agricultural indebtedness; the rest of the Committee seem to consider that it is the burden of the several miscellaneous demands on the agriculturists introduced in an era of high prices that makes some of them feel that even the land revenue is burdensome. There is, however, no unanimity among dissenting members on the question of the percentage of reduction needed.

The depressed sericultural industry in the State will receive considerable impetus from a silk waste spinning factory which will shortly be started under Government auspices. The Director of Industries and Commerce, it is learnt, is inducing prominent people who are either interested in the industry directly or who have a practical knowledge of its condition, to launch upon the scheme. The Government have promised assistance to the company by offering to take some shares in it, guaranteeing a certain percentage of dividend, grant of free site, etc.

The recommendations of the newly appointed Sericultural Board which are engaging the attention of the Government are those regarding the establishment of a cocoon market and a school to impart knowledge of sericulture at Chennapatna, the grant of Rs. 1,000 to village panchayats in the silk-rearing areas as an encouragement to grow mulberries, and of a bounty of 8as. per pound of silk reeled through domestic basins to encourage the owners thereof to start operations.

TRAVANCORE

The Government of Travancore have decided to appoint a committee to investigate the extent of agricultural indebtedness, to examine the various non-official proposals submitted to the Government and the methods of agricultural relief adopted in the other States and the British Indian provinces, and to suggest such relief measures as could be given effect to in the State.

The measures so far adopted by the Government to afford relief to the agriculturists include remission of land tax, reduction of the rate of interest of loans issued by Government for agricultural purposes, reduction in the Tariff value of cocoanut products, raising the maximum in the case of loans granted by the State Land Mortgage Banks, etc.

The final report of the Committee should be submitted to Government within three months.

* * * * *

It is understood that the Government of Travancore have sanctioned the excavation of the ancient site of Trikakara in North Travancore which

is noted for its ancient Vishnu temple. Inscriptions belonging to the Chera Kings, Bhaskara Ravi Varman and Indukothi Varman in Vattelettu script and to the 10th and 11th century are believed to be in existence in the temple.

The excavation that is proposed to be started is the first of its kind in the State and, it is believed, will yield substantial results.

COCHIN

Great rejoicings prevailed in the State over the recent celebration of seventy-third birthday of His Highness Sri Rama Varma, the Maharaja of Cochin. The time happily synchronised with the award to His Highness of the exalted title of G. C. I. E. by His Majesty the King-Emperor.

* * * * *

"It is my ardent hope that the measures being taken in Cochin will serve at any rate to alleviate the evil effects of the depression in the State. The further development of the Cochin Harbour is under active consideration and I join with you in looking forward to the time when Cochin will be amongst the most important harbours of India. The development of the Harbour will certainly be accompanied by the expansion of industries in the State and this expansion will alike stimulate the growth of wealth and afford employment to the State's evergrowing population. The improvement of education is ever a matter of keen consideration with me". So said His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin in reply to the address recently presented by the Rama Varma Union Club, Ernakulam, conveying felicitations to His Highness on the conferment on him of the title of G. C. I. E.

PUDUKOTTAH

The Pudukottah Durbar have recently announced a number of concessions to pattadars of the State in view of their inability to raise wet crops due to deficient rainfall in the current fasli. Collection of land revenue in current fasli in all villages of the State will be made in six monthly instalments from January to June, 1935. In respect of Ayan wetlands which owing to deficiency of water, either have been left waste or having been cultivated, failed to yield at least four-anna crops, only fifty per cent of the kist due will be collected in the current fasli. The Durbar will announce shortly whether the balance will be suspended as in the last fasli or finally remitted.

These concessions will extend to inam lands settled at half or more than half the quit rent in Ayan inam villages where quit rent has been calculated on the basis of what are known as inam settlement taram rates.

JAIPUR

According to a Press message, the Council of the State of Jaipur has sanctioned a sum of one lakh of rupees for the erection of an efficient

aerodrome at Srinagar, which is five miles from Jaipur, as also four landing grounds in different parts of the State. The aerodrome will be built on modern design and adequately furnished with necessary requirements. It is hoped that it will serve as a suitable halting station for passing aviators and result in the establishment of a link with other aerial centres in India. It is also understood that the Maharaja of Jaipur is placing an order for one or two planes for his own use.

BAMRA

An Investiture Durbar was recently held at Deogarh, the capital of Bamra State, on the occasion of the installation of Raja Bhanuganga Tribhuban Deb to the *Gadi*. Prominent among those present were Lieut. Col. A. S. Meek, Agent to the Governor-General, Eastern States, the Maharaja of Sonapur, the Ruling Chiefs of Bonai, Talcher, Despalla, Pallahara and the minor Chief of Khandpara.

In presenting the *khilat*, Liet Col. Meek reviewed the various improvements in the different branches of administration and hoped that its present ruler would continue the policy of devoting his serious attention to these matters.

The new Chief expressed his loyal devotion and homage to His Majesty the King-Emperor and declared that the State would not be found wanting in its contribution to the coming constitutional changes. Referring to the administration of his own State, he said that it would be his constant endeavour to promote the welfare and to win the love and affection of the people.

In the evening there was a State banquet at which the Agent to the Governor-General was the chief guest.

BASTAR

The return of Maharani Prafulla Kumari Debi, the Ruler of Bastar, with her four children from her European tour, after an absence of three and a half years, was hailed with great delight by all classes of her subjects. Deputations of all the tribes in the State came to greet her and renewed their allegiance. In the celebrations which continued for a fortnight, Lieut. Col. A. S. Meek, Agent to the Governor-General joined. Sports were held in her honour; clothing were distributed to Brahmins and the poor and gifts of sweetmeats were made to all school children. Remissions were given to all prisoners in the State jail, of whom 113 were released.

TRIPURA

The newly constructed "Tripura House" at Calcutta wore a gala appearance when His Highness Maharaja Manikya Bahadur invited a number of distinguished guests to a luncheon to meet their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Countess of Willingdon.

Among those present were Their Highnesses the Maharaja and Maharani of Cooch Behar, The Ticca Rani Saheba of Kapurthala, The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, Amil-ul-Omrah, the Raja Saheb and Rajkumar Saheb of Khirgarh, The Raja Saheb of Dhenkenel, Major-General and Mrs Huddleston, Sir Archy and Lady Birkmyre, Mahareja Babadur Sir Pradyot Kumar Tagore, Colonel and Mrs. Muir, Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Holland, Mr. and Mrs. L. H. Colson, Staff Officers of Cooch Behar and Kapurthala and members of His Highness's Staff.

THE VILLAGE INDUSTRIES ASSOCINTION

(Continued from page 306)

Association includes the entire life of the village, economic, moral and physical. The doctrine of economic self-sufficiency emphasises it so far as the economic activities of the Association are concerned. The references to the village carpenter and the village blacksmith and their present incompetence suggest specific lines in which the activities of the Association might expand to secure such self-sufficiency. As for Khadi, it will be "the sun of the whole Industrial Solar System" in the beautiful words of Gandhiji. "All the other industries," said he, "will receive warmth and sustenance from the khadi industry." When asked by an interviewer as to what exactly were the industries that ought to be revived and promoted, Gandhiji replied, "We must promote every useful industry that was existent a short while ago and the extinction of which has now resulted in unemployment."

The most important contribution to economic thought and practice that the All-India Village Industries Association is expected to make is, without doubt, that of rural economic self-sufficiency. The doctrine is apparently so foreign to the principles of economics which are taught today that to many it would either represent a retrogression or just a silly and futile attempt to stem the tide of economic progress. On this subject, therefore, a few words may be specially addressed.

In the first place, it is evident that few people take their stand today, in a world of contradictory phenomena, changing values and new standards, on the immutability of economic doctrines. The economics as it is taught in the class-room is still principally influenced by the Manchester School. But economic practice in the modern world takes the businessman, the industrialist, the banker, the currency expert, the fiscal reformer, even the agriculturist in a different direction than that mapped out by the classical theory of international exchange values. The series of changes which are convulsing the world of economics today reach their most characteristic interpretation in the conception of national economic planning.

Old traditions, however, die hard, and we find national economic planning coloured by a strong urban bias. Tariffs, exchange controls, currency manipulation, control of credit, quotas, the prosperity of large organised industries, these constitute the essential ingredients of almost all national plans today. Little attempt has been made to plan and co-ordinate rural economic conditions : conditions of prime producers, small industries, village health and sanitation. And thus we come to the second point, namely, that this new theory of economic self-sufficiency of the villages represents a change in the point of view. The whole question of economic improvement is looked at from the point of view of the villages. The stress is laid on the idea that the moral and physical improvement of the village must not be ignored. In India, this point cannot be too much

exaggerated. She is a land of villages, with 7 lakhs of them inhabited by 290 million Indians as against a little over 2000 towns with a population of 32 millions. Organised industries give employment only to 1 p. c. of the population, the rest live on agriculture and village crafts. A century of the policy of free competition has merely served to transfer the wealth of the country and concentrate it in the hands of a microscopic minority, impoverishing the general mass of the people. Their debts have increased, their land reduced to fragments, their crafts and arts decayed, their health impaired,—and with the invasion of their soil with jungles, deterioration of rivers and the menace of malaria and the water-hyacinth, the problem is one of absolute despair, unless some Hercules appeared and put his shoulders to the task. From the point of expediency also, it is evident that the pressure of foreign vested interests will bear more heavily on any attempt to carry out what is usually understood by the expression, national economic planning, than on any attempt to revive the industries of the village, to eradicate malaria and the water-hyacinth, to provide useful subsidiary occupations to the peasant during his four to five idle months of the year. A rural economic plan represents for the present the line of least resistance, so far as the possibility of interference by vested commercial interests backed up by a net-work of constitutional safeguards is concerned ; and so far as Gandhiji's idea of the Village Industries Association is concerned, it does not depend on the problematic assistance of the Government, either. Moreover, what the villagers are interested in are a sufficiency of food, clothing and shelter, and a few miscellaneous articles for their simple needs. Questions of standard of living will arise when these 290 millions of Indians have been raised to the minimum level of human existence ; and not before.

Thirdly, and finally, the idea of economic self-sufficiency does not preclude all contact with the town ; it simply means changed relations, changed relations with the people of the towns and with the mechanised industries that feed civilization. As we shall see, those relations have not yet been carefully defined, and it is here that seeds of conflict and disruption may be concealed. For we must not forget that with railways and other means of communication, we cannot completely isolate the village. The problem is to organise the inter-relations between the town and the village, between commerce and agriculture, between mechanised industries and village crafts, on a rational basis. This is the most difficult part of rural planning, and here Gandhiji is somewhat dogmatic. The following extracts from an article contributed to the *Harijan* (December 8, 1934) summing up Gandhiji's talk with the members of the Gandhi Seva Sangh at Wardha will, perhaps, clarify the situation to some extent.

Thus, speaking of the villagers he says : "There were numerous things of daily use which they used to produce themselves not many years ago, but for which they now depend on the outer world. There were numerous things of daily use to the town-dweller for which he depended on the villages but which he now imports from cities. The moment the villagers decided to devote all their spare time to doing something useful and town-dwellers to use those village products, the snapped link between the villagers and the town-dwellers would be restored. As to which of the extinct or moribund village industries and crafts could be revived, we could not be sure until we sat down in the midst of the villagers to investigate, to tabulate and to classify".

As regards the cry, Back to the Village, Gandhiji suggests that it means "rendering back to it (the village) what belongs to it", and proceeds to explain : "I am not asking the city dwellers to go to and live in the villages. But I am asking them to render unto the villages what is due to them. Is there any single raw material that the city dwellers can obtain except from the villager ? If they cannot, why not teach him to work on

it himself, as he used to before and as he would do now but for our exploiting iproads." And, "Even the little that he produces, he gives back to the sugar merchant and the cloth merchant."

The question of the relations of the village crafts and industries with mechanised factories of the towns is still more difficult. There is, for instance, the likelihood of opposition of the organized industries to the village industries competing with them in the villages, of the cotton mills with the khadi industry, of the sugar mill with the produces of jaggery. The question is particularly pertinent because we do not find any assertion by any authority connected with the Village Industries Association, not even by Mahatmaji himself, that only those village industries will be promoted or revived which will be complementary to factory production. On the contrary, in the interview given to the *United Press* on January 22, 1935, Gandhiji clearly anticipated conflict and declared that the Association "will not be deterred by conflicting world forces." In the case of such industries as wheatmeal flour and *gur*, he would see that "no mechanised industry is allowed to interfere with the health of the people." As we just pointed out, he looks at the entire problem from the point of view of the villager; and he would make, not the village industries complementary to the factories, but the factories complementary to the village industries. "Large scale centralized industries in India, except such industries which cannot be possibly carried on in the villages, must mean the starvation of millions who are displaced." Since, however, neither Mahatma Gandhi nor the Board of the Village Industries Association has got the power to direct the development of factories, there is a real prospect of conflict ahead. The conflict is bound to be interesting to detached observer because the enormous resources of the capitalist employer will be pitted against the fact that consuming power is held in the villages. But the main point to notice now is that such conflict is foreign to the principles of economic planning.

IV.

We now resume the thread of our discussions. What is going to be the agency through which the activities of the Association are to be carried out? Gandhiji has said definitely that it is not his purpose to select a few specific areas to which alone the activities of the Association will be confined. The activities will have to be spread over the whole country just when and where they might appear for the time being suitable and convenient, subject to the general directions and financial supervision of the Board of Management. Apart from this supervision, the work will be decentralised and carried on with the help of local agents. There could be no question of paying the agents. They must agree to live in the villages, meet their own out-of-pocket expenses with the help of donations (in which case account must be rendered to the Central Board) though in urgent cases, the Board itself may be prepared to find the money. Reports of work done by every member must reach the Central Office once in every quarter and if a member sends no report for three consecutive quarters, he shall cease to be a member of the Association. "It is felt", writes Gandhiji in publishing the rules and bye-laws of the Association,* "that the Board can never cover all the seven hundred thousand villages of India, if it is to employ paid agency. It has started work with the belief that there are self-sacrificing men and women enough to realise the necessity of serving the villages which have remained long neglected though every one knows that city life would be impossible if there were no villages to serve them". We feel sure there will be sceptics—cynics

* Vide the *Harijan*, dated December 28, 1934.

who doubt the eagerness of people to perform honorary work and its real value when performed. But the magnetic personality of Mahatma Gandhi has silenced many cynics in the past and may silence them once again. The best solution of the problem should, nevertheless, have been if a munificent patron or patrons of the idea came forward with a large capital grant. The size of the grant might be somewhat like that of the Rural Development Fund which I have urged in course of another article contributed to this Journal some time ago. As it is, the Association has been able to secure ample grounds and buildings at Wardha provided by the munificence of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj to serve the headquarters of the Association. Besides this, Gandhiji has secured promise of a monthly grant of Rs. 2,500, and the constitution of the Association provides for Associates who will pay an annual subscription of Rs. 100 and Life Associate who will pay Rs. 1000 in lump sum. Though in course of time these subscriptions may grow into a large sum, at the beginning the amount is uncertain and rules out any definite promise of remunerating the agents or the workers. That is why it is stated that "The workers or agents will be selected from those who, consistently with their pre-occupation of earning their livelihood will give their whole time to the work of the Association. So far as possible, the agents will be honorary. They will collect what funds may be necessary for the organization of their areas. It may be that the Board will not get many unpaid agents. It will be satisfied, as a start, even if a few districts are thoroughly organised and demonstrated to be economically and otherwise successful". Again, in course of publishing the bye-laws and rules of the Association, Gandhiji observes that "no one should take charge of more villages than he can manage with or without the help of the co-workers he has to find, and that the Board is to undertake no financial responsibility".

Though the work itself is to be decentralised, the central authority of the Association will be vested in a Board of Management. The first Board of Management which is nominated consists of the Foundation Members* who are to hold office for three years, after which the Board will be elected by the members and their period of office will be 3 years as in the case of the first Board. Wardha will be the head quarters of the Board. Those who would join the Association would belong to one of the three following categories namely, "Members" who have signed the pledge and are duly recommended by a member of the Association or any authorised agent, "Associates" who sympathise with the objects of the Association and pay Rs. 100 each as annual subscription, and "Life Associates" who make a lump payment of Rs. 1000 each to the Association and sympathise with the objects. Institutions which undertake to abide by the Rules and Regulations laid down by the Board of Management may be affiliated on application to the Association. It shall also be competent for the Board to issue certificates to persons who may be prepared to deal in village manufactures coming within the province of the Association.

The main duties of the Agent may now be briefly summarised. He will, consistent with and in pursuance of the economic programme laid down by the Board, carry out a survey of all such industries as may be revived, improved or introduced in his area and report forthwith to the Central Office the results of such investigation with a programme of work based thereon for examination by the Office; with a view to finding markets for the surplus product of the villages, he should induce reliable merchants to store village products for sale at prices mutually fixed between the merchants and the agents with a view to ensuring the genuineness of such

* These are—Shree Shrekrishnadas Jejooli, J. C. Kumarappa, Shree Goishi Ben, M. S. Captain, Doctor Khan Shahib (ex-I.M.A.—brother of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan), Seth Seoraj Vithlabhdas, Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Shri Laxmidas Purshattam Ashar and Shankarlal Bunker.

products ; carry on propaganda ; may appoint whenever necessary, and if funds at his disposal permit, paid workers needed for his work ; and must keep proper accounts which will be subject to audit, and generally act under the supervision of the Central Office. The ultimate idea is to have as many agents as there are villages.

It will be evident from the above that though the terms and duties of the agents have been very carefully defined, the scheme is defective in a member of particulars. Thus, for instance, though the work is to be decentralised, it will obviously be both territorially and functionally inter-related with similar work carried on in other parts of the district, province, or country as the case may be, and in order that the work may be well co-ordinated, it is necessary that the Central Office should constitute itself into a Clearing House for information as well, with Provincial Branches to expedite the transmission of such information. Too much of references to the Central Office is unnecessary, undesirable and should be avoided in the matter of getting instructions or submitting reports, the nearest situated member of the Board of Management representing the Central Office in all matters of routine. The distributive side needs also to be improved for the success of the scheme will depend very materially on how the products sell. Here there is crying need for setting up a separate marketing agency which will work in *liaison* with the agents on the one hand and the information bureaux on the other.

V.

In conclusion, it needs only be emphasised once again that the scheme stands or falls according to the abundance or otherwise of public spirit in our country. Nay, it would be more accurate to say that it stands or falls according as the number of those who "consistently with their pre-occupation of earning their livelihood" will be able to "give their *whole time* to the work of the Association" is large or small. Elsewhere I have dwelt upon the magnetic attraction of Gandhiji's personality. Up to a certain limit, Mahatmaji will be able to secure a number of workers answering to the description given above. But such number cannot be very large in our country, that is, the number of those who with a secure source of income will be able to devote himself wholeheartedly to the work of the Association. The problem of unemployment, on the other hand, is most acute among the middle classes from whom chiefly the workers will have to be drawn. Those who have occupations have to work for every pie of their income and their leisure is not super-abundant. In Bengal for instance, there are about 650 police stations and over 450 revenue-units. I doubt if there will be as many agents who will offer themselves for honorary work in the cause of the Village Industries Association. Not that public spirit is wanting in this Province, but that even though many may be willing, in fact, eager, to do this kind of work, few will be able to do it.

The element of conflict between organised industries and those which the Association will promote in the villages must also be watched with extreme caution. We have to meet not only the question of poverty at our door but that of exploitation by the non-Indian capitalist as well. The only reply to the latter's challenge, since we cannot prohibit it, is to play the game and start organised industries ourselves. We must not lose our grasp of realities and ignore either their necessity or their existence. Some sort of complementary production covered by an interconnected plan for both seems to be the inevitable solution, and we feel that Gandhiji and the people of India will have to face the problem sooner or later.



Matters of Moment

CONFERENCES AND CONGRESSES

The Chritsmas week and the opening week of the current month were both chokeful of cold weather Conferences. The season, so to say, opened with the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce on the 17th December last, opened by His Excellency the Viceroy. He referred to the sound position India's credit, low money rates, improved railway earnings, better trade, the institution of the Reserve Bank and J. P. C. proposals, He defended the J. P. C. proposals with vigour, particularly those relating to safeguards and commercial discrimination by recalling the Committee's words that these were necessary "for the double purpose of facilitating the transition from the old to the new conditions and of reassuring sensitive opinion on both sides", and concluded that "It is in no partisan spirit that the Committee have approached this question."

The Unemployed Youths' Conference, which held its first session in Calcutta under the presidency of Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, was the first organized attempt of the unemployed youngmen of Bengal to voice their feelings. Mr. Sarkar in his presidential address discussed various remedies and relief measures for the unemployed including the starting of public works, recruitment in the army, extension of social services, rural reconstruction and the like. As an immediate programme of relief for the most indigent cases, Mr. Sarkar suggested "the formation of some kind of organization on the lines, perhaps, of the District Charitable Society which does so much in this city for the Anglo-Indian community." He also pleaded for a change in the policy of capitalists of investing their resources either in landed properties or in Government securities only.

At the Poona session of the National Liberal Federation, Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru, the President made a scathing attack on the J. P. C. proposals, and advocated their rejection. "The constitutional proposals incorporated in the Report", he said, "concede the minimum of power and betray the maximum distrust of Indian legislators and Ministers... I would advise my countrymen to ask for nothing at present but wait for better days."

The Conference of the Indians in Burma also met for the first time to voice their protest against those proposals of constitutional reform for Burma which affect their rights and liberties adversely. Strong resolutions were passed on the recommendations relating to the restrictions to be imposed on the free entry of Indians into Burma (without

any such restrictions being imposed on the entry of British subjects domiciled in the United Kingdom), on the business of the Chettiyars, on facilities for education, on shipping etc., and against those of the proposals which will enable the Burma Legislature to pass discriminatory measures against Indians. Mr. M. M. Rafi was the President of the Conference.

The Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan—the Literary Conference of Bengalees domiciled outside of Bengal—met in Calcutta under the presidency of Sir Lalgopal Mukherjee, ex-Judge of the Allahabad High Court. Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore opened the Conference and recalled how Bengali literature used formerly to be neglected by domiciled Bengalees. The President in his address urged the use of the Roman script for Bengali words.

The Science Congress held its coming-of-age session (21st) in Calcutta under the presidency of Dr. J. H. Hutton, the noted Civilian Anthropologist. An event of first class importance in the annals of Science was the birth at this session of the National Institute of Sciences. The importance of the occasion was marked by the fact that His Excellency the Viceroy opened this session of the Congress, while the Institute itself was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on January 7, 1935.

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF THE SCIENCES

As mentioned in the preceding Note, the National Institute of the Sciences was inaugurated, under the auspices of the Indian Science Congress, by His Excellency Sir John Anderson on January 7, 1935. "I can conceive no better way for scientists", His Excellency said in his inaugural speech, "each pursuing his own special line of research, to correlate their investigations and to turn them into practical channels than the formation of some central institute by means of which their ideas can be pooled and brought into relation with each other". The Institute bids fair to be such a central institute, for it sees the light of the day under the auspices of the only accredited all-India body of science—the Indian Science Congress, and is the result, as His Excellency pointed out, of "steady and healthy growth", instead of being a sudden upstart as many such institutes tend to be in our country.

Dr. L. L. Fermor of the Geological Survey of India was elected as the first President of the Institute. In his inaugural address, he pointed out that the most important of the objects of the Institute were "to co-ordinate the labours of the scientists in India, to effect co-operation between the various bodies of Academy rank and to render possible the formation of a National Research Council". With this purpose in view the Institute proposes to publish annually a Review of the progress of science in India and to issue a consolidated *Comptes rendus* or Proceedings containing summaries of papers read before all the three co-operating Academies. It will also hold symposiums and in its various activities "provide a reservoir of knowledge and experience in all branches of science available for the application to the study of scientific problems

connected with the general welfare of the country". It will also secure and manage funds and endowments for scientific research.

The headquarters of the Institute, for the present, will be in Calcutta. The first office-bearers of the Institute are as follows, exclusive of the members :

President : Dr. L. L. Fermor, Director, Geological Survey of India, Calcutta. Vice-President : Brigadier H. J. Couchman, Surveyor-General of India, Calcutta. Treasurer : Dr. S. L. Hora, Superintendent, Zoological Survey of India, Calcutta. Foreign Secretary : Professor Meghnad Saha, Allahabad University, Allahabad.

Secretaries : Dr. S. P. Agharkar, Ghosh Professor of Botany, Calcutta University and Dr. A. M. Heron, Superintendent, Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.

The constitution of the Institute has two defects, which will be apparent from the above names. The first is the very strong representation of officials in the list of office-bearers, and the second is the preponderance of Calcutta scientists and officials on the body. It is also regrettable that an Indian scientist was not selected as the President of the Institute. The name of Sir J. C. Bose should not have been unknown to the sponsors of the Institute.

Sir C. V. Raman is a member of the Council of the Institute.

THE RESTORATION OF THE SAAR

The plebiscite which was taken on the 13th of January last in the Saar was an event of first class international importance. It was decided in the Treaty of Versailles that after 15 years of mandatory rule by the Council of the League of Nations—the mandatory power consisting of an International Commission of 5 members (one British, one French, one Czechoslovak, one Finnish, and one native of the Saar who must not be French) responsible to the League—a plebiscite, the one that was taken on the 13th inst.,—would be necessary to decide the future of the Saar. The Saar is an important industrial and mining region on the Franco-German frontier, formerly a part of Germany, which was detached from the parent country as a consequence of the War and France was given absolute control over the mines as compensation for the destruction of her northern mines during the War and as part payment towards German reparations. The people of the Saar were to decide by direct vote in 1935 whether they would unite with France, return to Germany, or continue under the administration of the League.

On the 13th of January, the Saar gave the reply, and voted as follows :—

For return to Germany	4,77,199 votes
For the <i>status quo</i>	46,513 "
For union with France	2,124 "
Invalid votes	2,249 "

Ninety-seven per cent of the Saar-landers who had votes voted, and the issue was determined without the possibility of any doubt.

In pursuance of the undertaxing given, the Council of the League of Nations at its meeting on the 16th of the January last, decided to restore the Saar to Germany on the 1st of March next. With the resolution, those clauses of the Versailles Treaty which now apply to Germany will apply also to the Saar, and the territory restored will be included within the demilitarised zone. In the meanwhile a Joint Commission composed of the representatives of France, Germany and Saar Governing Commission will deal with all measures in connexion with the transfer and will report on February 15.

The mines would be under French ownership until purchased back by Germany.

The J. P. C. Report and Chota-Nagpur

BY RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

IN the course of a speech in Bihar and Orissa Council on 16th January last Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy commenting on the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report so far as it affects Chota-Nagpur said :

The legal position of some of the aboriginal tracts of this Province particularly Chota Nagpur does not appear to have been improved in any way by the Report but perhaps degraded.

The areas in this Province which are now called "Backward Tracts" within the meaning of section 52A (2) of the Government of India Act, may be said to fall under three distinct categories, which may be respectively called, the "Actually Backward" (namely Khondals in Angul), the "Less Backward" (namely, the Santal Parganas), and the "Least Backward" (namely, Chota Nagpur and Sambalpur).

Angul district has remained outside the ordinary law ever since 1874 and by notification No. 4 of the 3rd January, 1920, has been excluded from the constitutional reforms extended to the rest of the Province. It still remains the most backward and unprogressive part of the Province ; and is obviously intended to remain, as it still does, the "excluded area" of the Province under the forthcoming Reforms.

The Santal Parganas District has ever since the year 1855 been administered under special regulations. Though it was included in the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme and allowed to send representatives to the Legislatures, yet it still retains its special and simpler judicial and administrative systems, the old special Regulations still apply to it ; and it still remains outside the jurisdiction of the Provincial High Court except in certain special matters. With all this "special protection", the "Damin-i-koh" portion of it still remains very backward and the aborigines of the rest of the district, though "less backward" cannot yet fully stand on their legs as may be presumed from the fact that though since 1920, the District has been allowed to send representatives to the Legislatures, the Santals have not been able to send a single elected representative to the Legislatures within these 15 years. Thus the Santal Parganas, which has so long remained partially excluded from the general administrative and judicial system of the province will, it is presumed, be classed as a "Partially excluded Area" under the forthcoming constitutional Reforms.

Sambalpur, and particularly Chota Nagpur, on the other hand, have hitherto been the least protected among the so-called "Backward Tracts" of

the province, and the most advanced. Though originally included among the scheduled districts under the Scheduled Districts Act 1874, gradually all the general Acts of the Imperial and Provincial legislatures have been extended to Chota Nagpur so that it has long been treated to all intents and purposes, as an ordinary "Regulation district", being subject to the same High Court and the same classes of subordinate courts as the most advanced districts of the province.

The only protective measure now extended to Chota Nagpur is that under section 52A (2) of the Government of India Act 1919 which provides that the Governor-General may direct that any particular act or portion of an act will not apply to the tract or any part of it or he may direct the Governor in Council to do so.

It is a significant fact that within the last 15 years it was only in one small matter that it was thought fit to use this small safeguard to Chota Nagpur. This was some 12 years ago when the Local Self-Government Act of 1923 was passed and only one section regarding the election of Chairman of the District Boards was withheld from the area. But even this small restriction was later withdrawn from one of the Districts (namely, Manbhumi) and there are indications that it may before long be withdrawn from the other districts as well. With the rapid progress which Chota Nagpur has been making in education and civilization within the last 50 years or so, this emergency power has now fallen into practical disuse, and Chota Nagpur, which was the "least backward" among the so-called "Backward Tracts" within the meaning of Section 52A of the Government of India Act, now to all intents and purposes enjoys all the rights and privileges of the most advanced part of the province. The omission in the Report of my third category or the "Least Backward" areas is, we might reasonably presume, intended to exclude the Chota Nagpur Division from the category of "Backward Tracts" and give the *de jure* right of treatment on the same footing with the more advanced areas, of which right they have for years been in *de facto* enjoyment.

The Joint Committee's report is admittedly the outcome of the British Government's desire to give higher rights of self-government to the people of India, according to their deserts and capacity as estimated by the Committee. As an endeavour has been made to bestow on the rest of India a liberal constitution and higher rights however circumscribed and hedged in by reservations I cannot persuade myself to believe that far from seeking to make any improvement on their present position by raising their political status to the next higher grade, the Joint Parliamentary Committee should have contemplated the degradation of Chota Nagpur to a much lower status than it at present enjoys.

Chota Nagpur, has, if anything, admittedly done well and deserved better of Government, deserved some advance in its political status. Even the Chota Nagpur aborigines have admittedly made considerable progress in education and civilisation since 1919 when the last Government of India

Act was passed. Since then, and indeed from before it Chota Nagpur has enjoyed all the privileges and advantages of ordinary Regulation districts.

There was indeed a time, three-quarters of a century ago, when if timely protection had been given, the aborigines of Chota Nagpur would have been spared much harassment and spoliation of property and loss of rights. But the then authorities followed a *laissez faire* policy and took no effective steps for their protection so long as there was anything to protect. And by being thrown into the melting pot of a common law and standardized system of administration and thus allowed to sink or swim as they best could,—though they have lost and suffered much, they have somehow managed to keep their head above water and have since been able to adapt themselves to the new conditions. The Census Reports show that their population has been steadily on the increase. In thus enabling them to stand on their legs, the slight protection of section 52 A of the Government of India Act might have done its little bit in its time. Now, however, they have over-grown the stage of spoon-feeding and "sheltered" political existence. The novelty of the situation created by the Reforms has now worn off, the fear of innovation has disappeared. They no longer stand in need of statutory leading-strings. They have found their strength. They have been repeatedly successful in returning their nominees to the Legislative Council, to the district boards and municipalities, some of their own people have been successfully administering their district boards and municipalities as vice-chairman and members or commissioners. Some of them have been for years working efficiently as Deputy Magistrates, Sub-Deputy Collectors, Assistant Settlement Officers, Pleaders, Medical Practitioners and Engineers. A few have received education in foreign countries. A few of them have been adorning the Legislative Council. A few have been honoured by Government with titles and decorations for their public spirit and selfless philanthropic activities. Every year some of their young men are passing out of the Universities with success. In the expansion of primary education of boys, the last year's provincial report on education shows that the Ranchi District now surpasses every district in Bihar proper except Patna; and in the education of girls the Ranchi district far surpasses every other district of Bihar including Patna, and the Chota Nagpur Division, as a whole, surpasses every Division in Bihar and Orissa, except the Orissa Division. In secondary education, too, Chota Nagpur districts now hold a respectable place among the other districts of Bihar.

In these circumstances, it is natural to expect that Chota Nagpur will be given an extension of its political rights and not degraded to the lower political level of the "partially excluded area" within the meaning of paragraph 144 of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. To degrade Chota Nagpur to such a low status would be to inflict a grievous hurt on the self-respect of the people and set back the hands of the clock of civilisation in Chota Nagpur for many a dreary decade. This would indeed be narrowing down their rights by every successive Reforms Act.

I, for one, cannot imagine that such retrograde and unjust measure can be countenanced by that palladium of justice—the British Parliament, or can even have been contemplated by the Joint Parliamentary Committee itself. And I would appeal to the Hon'ble the Leader of the House and the Hon'ble Mr. Hubback to give us a definite assurance on behalf of Government that Chota Nagpur will not only continue to enjoy the rights and privileges that it now enjoys but also that it will share with the rest of the province some measure of further political advance ; and that the aborigines too will be allowed to send an adequate quota of their own representatives not only to the Provincial Legislatures but to the Central Legislatures, and that their representatives will be given the same effective powers of discussion, interpellation, moving of resolutions and voting, and the same methods of influencing the Legislature in the interests of their constituents, as the representatives from the most advanced districts of the province. The vagueness and uncertainty of the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee with regard to the aboriginal areas is causing great anxiety and misgivings in the minds of the people of Chota Nagpur. And I received yesterday copies of Resolutions passed at an extraordinary meeting of the Chota Nagpur Improvement Society—the premier aboriginal Association in this Province, protesting in anticipation, against any measure which may keep them out of the general constitutional advance for India.



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The Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report : VIEWS AND SUGGESTIONS

THE BRITISH INDIAN ASSOCIATION

The British Indian Association adopted the following resolution at its Committee meeting held on the 27th November last :

The British Indian Association welcomes the Constitution as outlined in the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee proposing to confer autonomy in the Provinces and considers it to be a definite advance towards Responsible Form of Government.

The Association desires to express as follows its definite opinion on some of the specific points in the Report :

1. The Association feels greatly disappointed at the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Communal Award and the Poona Pact which are unjust and inequitable in as much as they give weightage to a majority community, introduce a cleavage amongst the Hindus by reservation of seats for the different groups of Hindus in the legislatures. The caste Hindus of Bengal will find it extremely difficult to work the Constitution based on the Communal Award and the Poona Pact, and would therefore suggest their modification on the lines indicated by Lord Zetland in his amendment to the Report (page 338 Vol. I, Part II). Unless these changes are effected in the proposed Constitution it cannot have a smooth working in Bengal notwithstanding an honest desire on the part of those who are and will be ready to work the Constitution.

2. The Association regrets that the introduction of the Federation could not be simultaneous with the introduction of autonomy in the Provinces and would suggest a definite time limit from the enforcement of the new Government of India Act, for the inauguration of the Federation at the centre.

3. The Association is against the system of indirect election at the centre as recommended in the Report but is prepared to accept the proposal in view of the practical difficulties of direct election. It is of opinion, however, that the electorate as proposed in the Report would be too narrow and wholly unrepresentative. It should be widened and made more representative by inclusion of the local bodies such as the District, the Local and the Union Boards and the Municipalities in the electorate along with the members of the proposed Legislative Assembly in order to prevent the Lower House at the Centre from being a mere replica of the Lower House in the Provinces

4. The Association is of opinion that the Upper Houses both at the Centre and in the Provinces should be constituted partly by direct, and partly through indirect method of election as recommended in the Report, in order to make them more effective as Second Chambers and more representative in character.

5. The Association welcomes the safeguard suggested about the Permanent Settlement but would like to emphasise the necessity of making the provision in the Instrument of Instructions more precise and definite, so as to prevent legislation for indirectly changing the character of the Permanent Settlement by encroaching on the valuable rights of the Zemindars by further impositions on them from which they have hitherto been exempted.

6. The Association views with alarm and deprecates the proposal in the Report for the imposition of income tax on agricultural income.

7. The Association is deeply disappointed at the failure on the part of the members of the Joint Parliamentary Committee to do even-handed justice to the landholding community of this Province in extending their franchise and granting them adequate representation both in the Lower and Upper Houses of the Provincial and Federal Assemblies though the Committee have not denied this privilege to the representatives of other special interests.

8. The Association regrets the discrimination suggested in the report about the transference of Law and Order in Bengal on the ground of the existence of revolutionary movement in this Province and is of opinion that complete transfer of responsibility to Ministers would have strengthened the position of the future Government in tackling the problem rather than weakening it; the Association would urge for the removal of this discrimination.

9. The Association is of opinion that the recommendation about keeping away secret intelligence reports for the Ministers would greatly handicap them in the discharge of their duties. Ministers enjoying public confidence should not be objects of unnecessary suspicion.

10. The Association is against provincialisation of the High Courts which is likely to affect their independence and the public confidence in them. It is further of opinion that appointment of the members of the I.C.S. as Chief Justices of the High Courts would be a definitely retrograde policy and it would lower the prestige of the High Courts and weaken public confidence in the Judiciary.

The Association is of opinion that His Majesty's Government should devote their most careful attention to the points mentioned and make necessary additions and alterations suggested in the proposed Constitution to make it a distinct advance towards Responsible form of Government so that it may be worked in a true spirit of co-operation in order to qualify the Indian people for the Dominion form of Government in the near future.

ALL-BENGAL LANDHOLDERS' CONFERENCE

The Second Session of the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference which met in Calcutta in December last passed the following resolution on the Report :

That this Conference of the landholders of Bengal considers the scheme, as outlined in the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, as an advance towards responsible Government but nevertheless recognises that the constitutional frame-work suffers from inherent weaknesses and vital imperfections. The uncertainty of the Federation with which the idea of responsibility at the Centre is bound up, the absence of provision for automatic extension of responsible Government on the ideals of the Dominions, the superior authority of the security services, the limited form of transfer of law and order in the provinces are some of the blemishes on the Constitution, which need be removed for making the reforms acceptable to the Indian people.

This Conference, while warmly appreciating that the sanctity of Regulation I of 1793 has been duly acknowledged in the Report, respectfully urges on the Government that the Constitution Act should provide in unequivocal language that it would not be within the competence of the Indian Legislature to alter or repeal or indirectly affect the said enactment.

This Conference is disappointed at the suggested imposition of tax on agricultural income and of death duty which would assuredly run counter to the safeguard provided in the matter of the Permanent Settlement besides prejudicially affecting the interests of the agriculturists. This Conference also feels disappointed at the inadequacy of representation granted to the landlords in the legislatures, central and provincial, a matter which the landlords press upon the Government with all the emphasis that they command.

This Conference gravely apprehends that the chance of smooth working of the Constitution in Bengal may be wrecked on the rocks of the Communal Award and the Poona Pact which enunciate undemocratic principles and go against all canons of justice and fair play and respectfully urges upon His Majesty's Government for amending "the Award" on the lines suggested by the Rt. Hon'ble the Marques; of Zetland in the Joint Committee.

THE MADRAS LANDHOLDERS' ASSOCIATION

The following statement has been issued by the Madras Landholders' Association on the recommendations of the J. P. Committee :

The landholders welcome the proposal to set up a Second Chamber in this province. They are sure that the establishment of an Upper House will go a long way to ensure smooth and successful working of the new constitution. The provision for a joint session of the two Houses would prevent dead-locks that may arise between the Governor and the Legislature. At the same time, the status assigned under the recommendations to the Upper Chamber would prevent conflicts between the two Houses. We are convinced that the Second Chamber would act as a check upon hasty and ill-considered legislation and thus would reduce to a minimum the necessity of the Governor exercising his special powers. There would, therefore, be every possibility of healthy conventions, regarding the use of the special powers vested in the Governor, growing up and ensuring a successful working of representative Government under the Provincial Autonomy in the provinces.

The landholders, whilst not urging for any special representation of interests in the Upper Chamber strongly feel that the franchise for the Upper House must be high enough to secure in the Upper House the services of men who have a real stake in the country or who have filled high public offices. It is gratifying to note that the Committee contemplate a franchise on the lines of the present Council of State. We are of opinion that would be worse than useless if through lowering of qualification the Upper House becomes merely a duplicate of the Lower House in which case it is possible that the task of the Governor might become more onerous in carrying out his special responsibilities.

In para. 122 the Committee recommend "It is proposed to include a certain number of seats to be filled by nomination by the Governor at his discretion and accordingly available for the purpose of redressing any possible inequality or to secure some representation to women in the Upper House". We can justly claim that the Governor should be instructed to include the landholders among those to be nominated by him at his discretion. We have specially in mind the big landholders of the Province whose presence in the legislature is desirable for the reason that they supply an element in the constitution which is recognised as essential on all hands,—*vide Montagu Chelmsford Report*, para, 147.

We are thankful to the Committee for recognising the need for providing special seats in the Provincial Lower Houses for landholders. It is therefore not necessary once again to adumbrate on the justice and expediency for the retention of the special constituencies. We may just mention that Provincial Government as well as the Central Government wholeheartedly endorse the view that the Montagu-Chelmsford Report takes as to the place of landholders in Indian society, political as well as economic.

It is, however, disappointing to [note that the Committee do not see their way to recommend any increase in the number of seats allotted to landholders under the Indian Franchise Committee Report. The quantum of representation is a vital part of our claim. It is essential that the representation should not be merely nominal but in numbers sufficient to attract sympathy and attention from the political groups so that the landholders' representatives may fulfil the double purpose of safeguarding their legitimate interests and at the same time supply a steady influence in the Councils.

The fear expressed by the Indian Franchise Committee in negating our claim was that our increased representation will upset the balance of parties. The history of special representation to landholders in the past belies this apprehension. We are glad to note that the Committee do not endorse that view. Not only have the landholders actively associated themselves with the Party Government but as leading members of democratic parties in the Councils they have also materially contributed to the successful working of democratic institutions in this country. There is absolutely no ground for fearing that in future the representatives of special interests will join to thwart the healthy development of democracy.

The Committee advance two grounds for maintaining the representation of landholders in the Provincial Legislatures at the same level as at present in a future Council of more than double

the size of the present. The first reason is that any increase in representation will lead to a re-opening of the Communal Award. It is very obvious that the just and legitimate claim of the land-lords should not be thrust aside on considerations foreign to the subject under discussion. If the contention is reasonable, and as we suggest necessary, means should be found to avoid the difficulty whilst doing justice to our claim. Secondly, it is very hard to see how and why the Committee considers the representation of 6 in a Council of 215 as adequate representation. If they have in mind that all that is necessary to provide is a forum for landholders in the Legislature, they go wide off the mark. Our claim is that we should have representation in numbers commensurate with the interests involved.* The landholders of this province hold estates which cover an area of about 27½ millions of acres which is about one-fifth of the whole area of the province and which contain a population of over 8½ millions which is between one-fourth and one-fifth of the total population of the province and they contribute about 35 per cent. of the gross income towards the public exchequer. Their contribution forms from one-fourth to one-fifth of the income of the Government under the head of land tenure. Every important measure undertaken by the Legislature in respect of land tenures and irrigation touches them most vitally at almost every point.

It may be argued by some that the problem of safeguarding special interests will be taken care of by the Second Chamber. But the constitution of Second Chamber does not remove the necessity of a fully representative Lower House. It is desirable in every way to minimise chances of mistake or mischief by proper representation in the Lower House. To remedy a mistake or mischief through the Upper House is certainly less satisfactory than its prevention at the outset by suitable representation in the Lower House.

We content ourselves with urging a moderate claim that the special representation of landholders should be so increased as to bear the same proportion to the total number of members under the new constitution as it at present bears to the total of elected members. If in the interests of justice special representation is considered proper we submit that such representation should not be merely nominal but should be such as would afford real and adequate protection to the long-established rights and privileges of landholders. The reasonableness of the claim would be apparent when the two factors are taken into consideration, namely, the past history of the representation and the legitimate apprehension that the need would be all the greater in the future both because of the disappearance of the official block and because of the greater tendency for anti-landlord legislation against a general background of socialistic tendencies. The landholders were as a rule nominated to the Governor's Council before the Minto-Morley Reforms. Previous to the 1920 Reforms they had 5 seats out of 21 elected members. The Southborough Franchise Committee recommended 7 out of 92 elected seats. They are at present given 6 out of 98 elected seats. The proposal of the Committee would practically amount to reducing their representation by more than half and that at a time when the need for such representation would be all the greater because of the widening of the franchise which would make it very difficult, if not, impossible for the landholders to come in through general constituencies and because of the disappearance of the official block and transference of power from the Bureaucracy to the majorities from electorates in which anti-zamindary elements may prevail

On page 372 the Report recommends a certain measure of protection for safeguarding the Permanent Settlement. We are thankful for the recommendation. But the discussion relating to the binding nature and the sanctity and inviolability of the Permanent Settlement engagements reveals that the Committee does not accept our contention that the engagements entered into by the Government of the day represented by the East India Company on the one part and the landholders on the other and evidenced by the 'Sand-i-milkiyat-i-istimirar' and the Kabuliat cannot be varied or altered by any action of the Indian Legislature. These engagements are in the nature of treaties. In consideration of the East India Company guaranteeing a fixed jumma (amount paid to the State) payable by them, the landholders parted with their valuable rights. Therefore viewed, putting it at its lowest legal value, as a contract it was binding upon the East India Company and the successors of the East India Company whether it is the British Government directly administering the Provinces or through delegated authority vested in the local legislatures. It is hard to see how

* Figures taken From the Census Report of 1911.

the Committee seeks to make a distinction as to the binding nature of these engagements on the British Government and on the Indian legislatures.

We wish to stress the point that the Permanent Settlement was not a unilateral boon as is suggested but a bilateral contract. The misconception as to the power of the legislature to vary the Permanent Settlement is largely due to the non-appreciation of the true nature of the regulations. The work of collection of revenue had broken down. Many of the Zamindars had refused to accept the impositions of the Company and had declined to pay the taxes. The agents of the Company, the Government of Lord Cornwallis, found it necessary to come to terms with them to enable the Government to collect the revenues. The inducement which was held out to the Zamindars to pay their dues was the guarantee of a Permanent Settlement. The regulation therefore far from enacting a new law merely registered an agreement or a treaty with the Zamindars. And there are instances where the agreement has been entered into without any reference to the Permanent Settlement regulations as in the case of the Venkatagiri Estate in the Madras Presidency. The articles of the Regulation itself support to the hilt our contention. Article 4 reads :

"Upon their agreeing to the payment of the assessment which may be required of them they shall be reinstated and that no alteration shall afterwards be made in that assessment, but that they and their heirs and lawful successors shall be allowed to hold their respective estates at such assessment for ever".

The facts are also obvious from a perusal of the documents of the time. The Fifth Report will clearly show the antecedent history of the above Regulations. It would be seen that the regulation was merely an instrument to secure uniformity to all the contracts that were entered into between the various Zamindars and the Government and that the main principles were definitely designed and the agreements entered into even before the Regulation.

Apart from the theoretical objection which we most strongly urge against the view of the Committee, we are also convinced that the recommendation which is designed to protect our interests will be of little or no avail. There is the danger of the future legislatures jumping at an opportunity to deprive the landholders of what they may wrongly consider "the large profit intercepted by the landholders" by subjecting income of landholders to some scheme of taxation. Our apprehension is strengthened by the view which the Committee takes in para. 258 of the Report that agricultural income could be taxed and that the Provinces should be entrusted with that power to tax.

The landholders pay to the State as peishcush a large portion of their gross income. The proportion of the payment to the income was as originally fixed in most cases $\frac{1}{11}$ of the gross income in Bengal and $\frac{2}{3}$ in Madras. Out of what remained in their hands, the landholders have to meet the establishment charges and face the contingency of their not being able to collect the rent because of depression and other causes. It is a matter of historical knowledge that there were numerous cases of auctioning the estate for non-payment of peishcush. It is no doubt true in recent years the position of landholders has to a certain extent changed to their advantage but the years of depression have again put the clock back. The fact that in certain limited number of estates the peishcush fixed is lower should not be treated as a justification for treating the Permanent Settlement Regulation as a mere scrap of paper. In the case of those estates there have been abundant reasons for such favourable treatment, for example, in the case of the Jeypore Estate though the Settlement was under the Regulation it was effected as a matter of high state policy after the battle of Padmanabham and the peishcush was fixed without reference to the income. It is important to note that certain of the landholders in this Presidency were in the position of chiefs and thus proprietors of their estates long prior to the advent of the British Government.

The fact that a serious misconception has thus grown up as to the scope and character of the Permanent Settlement makes it of vital importance to secure the inviolability of the engagement entered into by the Government of the day with the landholders. It is also just that the landholders should not be driven to ruinous and protracted litigation to fight any encroachment on the pledges given to them at the time of the Permanent Settlement. We feel that nothing short of a guarantee embodied in the constitution would secure to us our just and legitimate rights and protect our vested interests. It may also be pointed out that by embodying such guarantee in the constitution, the

continuance of that element in the politico-economic structure of India which works towards stability and ordered progress would be secured. Whilst leaving the actual form of the guarantee to those versed in constitution drafting, we suggest the embodiment of a clause to the following effect : "The inviolability of the Permanent Settlement is hereby guaranteed and under no circumstances shall the balance of income after paying the peishcush fixed under the Permanent Settlement engagements, be subjected without the consent of the holders of such estates by any future legislation to taxation either directly or indirectly through any scheme of taxation.

The present memorandum does not go into full details of the various questions raised herein. The Association has on different occasions expressed its views and stated its reasons for the various points urged. Therefore we have thought it inexpedient and unnecessary to repeat what we have already submitted on other occasions. The memorandum is therefore more in the nature of a supplement to the previous memoranda submitted by the Association to the various bodies entrusted with the problem of the Indian Reforms.

THE BIHAR UNITED PARTY

Characterising the Report as more unsatisfactory than the White Paper proposals the Bihar United Party in the course of a statement say :

"There is nothing in the recommendations of the J. P. C Report to induce the party to alter its opinion expressed with reference to the scheme contained in the White Paper. Responsibility as foreshadowed in the White Paper, instead of being liberalised, has been further whittled down and expectation of its substantial modification to make the scheme more in consonance with real transference of responsibility has not been fulfilled. The Governor's special powers have been widened, safeguards relating to law and order, and particularly police rules and legislation, have been made more stringent. These unjustifiably betray distrust of Indian Ministers and unduly circumscribe the autonomy of the Provinces

"The question whether the proposals of the Committee, when enacted by Parliament, should be worked by the people can have, in the circumstances, but one answer. The scheme will undoubtedly be worked. Its rejection, in the sense of boycott, is neither possible nor feasible, but it must be said that a constitution based on the recommendations of the Report will fail to bring peace and contentment and agitation is likely to grow and thrive on disappointment."

Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga

In the course of his presidential speech delivered at the Second Session of the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Kameswar Singh Bahadur, K. C. I. E. of Darbhanga said :

Speaking on the 'White paper' in the Council of State on 27th March 1933 I had said that the form of Government we were going to have was 'neither the substance of Independence which Mahatma Gandhi wanted nor the Dominion Status which India expected to have'. It was going to be a democracy controlled by an autocracy— a novel constitutional experiment the result of which it is difficult to appraise'. The Joint Parliamentary Committee has not improved the character of the White Paper Scheme to any appreciable degree in order to meet India's demand for self-government. Its recommendations have not satisfied any section of the Indian people and cannot solve the problem of Indian unrest. Possibilities are that it will aggravate the friction between classes and communities and usher in an era of discord and growing discontent.

Maharaja of Venkatagiri

The following speech was delivered by Lt. Col. Sir the Maharaja of Venkatagiri, K. C. I. E., President of the Madras Landholders' Association, at a meeting of the Association held on 2nd December, 1934 :

I cannot refrain from expressing my opinion with which I hope you all concur that the Report contemplates a large measure of advance in the establishment of self-government

in our land. I may at the same time express my earnest request to the Governments both in England and India that they should do all that lies in their power to make the Reforms that would emerge from the Parliament such as would satisfy the legitimate and reasonable aspirations of the country and such as would secure to India a status equal to the other members of the British Empire within a reasonable period.

As for those recommendations contained in the Report which immediately concern the landholders of this Province, I should give place of prominence to the recommendation relating to our special representation. In paragraph 121 of the Report, whilst recommending the retention of the representation at the present level, the Committee do not accede to our request for an increased representation in the future councils which would be more than double the size of the present councils. The difficulties attendant upon the re-opening of the Communal Award could be no ground for depriving us in perpetuity of our claim, if it is just and reasonable on other grounds. The Committee assign no reasons why they regard 6 seats for the landholders out of a total of 215 as adequate representation. It is inadequate when viewed from the point of the stake we have in the country, our contributions to the revenue of the State and our value as a steady element in the constitution. It is also inadequate when considered in comparison with special representation afforded to other interests from the point of their relative importance. It is, therefore, necessary for us to urge once again that our representation should be maintained at the same proportion to the number of elected seats as it is at present.

The next recommendation of importance is the recommendation regarding the Permanent Settlement. It is gratifying to notice that the Committee recognises that any violation of the Permanent Settlement regulations will have a revolutionary effect economically. But the recommendation falls far short of our claim. The Report does not accept the contention that the Permanent Settlement regulations can not be altered by the Indian legislature so as to affect solemn engagements entered into under the regulations by the Government of the day with the landholders, engagements which we contend were binding on the East India Company and hence binding on the Secretary of State.

The view of the Report that the British Government could not alter the Permanent Settlement but that the local legislature which derive their power from the British Government could alter it cannot be accepted as legally correct. It should be outside the competence of the local legislature to, alter, vary or modify in any way, the Permanent Settlement regulations. Besides our specific point is that the balance of the income in the hands of the landholder after paying the peishcush as per the permanent settlement engagements must under no pretext be got at by the State through any scheme of taxation.

That our fears are not merely imaginary is borne out, as you are aware, by a recent Privy Council decision and by the recent attempt which the Madras Government made to subject income of landholders from forests situate in estates liable to income tax. Therefore we should urge for a constitutional guarantee embodying the inviolability of the Permanent Settlement and a guarantee that under no circumstances the income from permanently settled or temporary settled estates would be subjected to taxation by future legislation.

In paragraph 117, the Committee recommend a Second Chamber for Madras, among other 5 major provinces in India. We welcome the recommendation. I have no doubt that Second Chamber would facilitate and ensure the smooth working of Provincial Autonomy to be set up under the future constitution. Also it would be a source for setting up healthy conventions; for acting as it would as a check on hasty and ill-considered legislation, the Second Chamber would reduce to a minimum the necessity for the exercise of special powers vested in His Excellency the Governor. In paragraph 122 the Committee recommend "It is proposed to include a certain number of seats to be filled by nomination by the Governor at his discretion and accordingly available for the purpose of redressing any possible inequality or to secure some representation to women in the Upper Houses". We can justly claim that the Governor should be instructed to include the landholders among those to be nominated by him at his discretion.

The Raja of Bobbili says :

"I have no hesitation in saying that this report (J. P. C. report) is a long step forward over the existing state of affairs, but I am sorry to say it falls short of the minimum demands placed before the British Government by the representatives of our party at the Round Table Conferences. It shall, therefore, be our duty to continue, as in the past, our fight legitimate and constitutional means at our disposal, until we reach the cherished goal of Dominion Status".

The Raja of Parlakimedi says :

"I rejoice over the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee which, by including a portion of Jeypore and Parlakimedi Estates (including Parlakimedi town) and Jalantra Mallash in the new Orissa Province, has met to a great extent the demand of the people of Orissa in this respect.

"The Report of the Committee, though it no doubt contains several modifications on the White Paper recommendations in order to allay apprehensions of the Diehards in England, is a statesman-like document intended for the benefit of all concerned and I feel sure that the constitution, if worked with mutual trust and goodwill, will enable India to work her way up on the road to constitutional progress to her destined goal within a reasonable period of time.

Major D. R. Ranjit Singh

Major D. R. Ranjit Singh, General Secretary, Agra Zemindars' Association in the course of an interview on the J. P. C. Report said :

"I do not think that even Zamindars can say that they are really satisfied with the report, as admittedly the Report has even gone back on the Simon Commission. It is not honest to say that the reforms on the whole are unworkable. While I really wish they were better, I think that in view of the enormous complexities to be encountered, the outcome is not altogether to be spurned and set aside. If Zamindars do not succeed in consolidating and working the Reforms, the only alternative which will be a natural consequence would be that the Congress, owing to their sheer majority will enter the future legislatures."

The Raja Bahadur of Nashipur

The Raja Bahadur of Nashipur in the course of an illuminating speech on the Report in the Bengal Legislative Council, said :

Political power and control, bereft of political responsibility, as recommended by the Report, would be something unthinkable in a scheme of political advance. On the other hand, if responsibility would be given for law and order that would beget a sense of duty and soberly of political views. Again provincial autonomy for the present without central responsibility, fixing no definite date by which that responsibility would come, amounts almost to a negation of what is really intended to be conferred, as it is the central responsibility that matters most in the fulfilment of that scheme.

While I agree the Governor should possess some "special responsibilities", as such powers are essential in every constitution, I am sure that those powers would not be invoked to stop any popular legislation or measure not in any way prejudicial to his executive. Otherwise those "responsibilities" will become the source of constant bitterness and discussion leading to breakdowns now and then.

There is no denying the fact that the existence of the Award, fore-shadowing innumerable divisions, differences and discriminations, will only serve as a permanent wedge in the path of national unity and perpetuate our bondage by keeping us ever inefficient, politically, industrially and economically.

While I approve of the recommendation for the establishment of a second chamber in all the politically advanced provinces in as much as the utility and importance of the second chamber lies in the fact that it restrains "the impetuosity and fickleness of the popular House and so guards against the effects of gusts of passion or sudden changes of opinion in the people."

I cannot see eye to eye with the Committee regarding indirect election. Indirect election will go to conserve power in small groups or coteries, prevent community of feelings and interests in bigger political spheres and weaken the centre by rendering it more and more subordinate to the province. There is another very retrograde recommendation viz. proposal to make the Judiciary virtually subservient to the Executive evidently in pursuance of the desire that "it is necessary to make the Executives strong in the provinces."

**Sriman Dharmaranjan P. Venkataraya Sarma,
Zamindar, Karavadi (Ongole Taluk) says :**

The Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee is far from being satisfactory. It even falls short of the White Paper. The would-be constitution of India is shrouded with safeguards and special responsibilities. Under the plea of safeguards and special responsibilities, undue latitude is given to Governors and Viceroy. The vested interests of the landholders have not been sufficiently safeguarded, as the number of seats allotted to this class on the various Legislatures is very low. . . . The "Magna Charta" of 1858 granted to the various peoples of India by Her Majesty Queen Victoria on her accession to the British Raj has been set at nought by the proposed Constitution. Even the previous sanction of Governors and Viceroy required for the introduction of bills relating to matters religious, socio-religious, and religio-social has been removed as unnecessary. Religion or faith is but the inherent right of an individual. No form of Government, however democratic it may be, has any right to dictate terms to the individual with regard to his religion or faith. The Sanathani Hindu Religion is peculiar in itself. The Sanathani religion and its social structure are so closely and nicely interwoven that it is rather difficult to separate one from the other. Any attempt at legislation on matters religious, socio-religious and religio-social, therefore, may prove disastrous to the smooth working of the proposed constitution. The declaration of the fundamental right of the people that inhabit India should find a place in the proposed constitution and it should contain and lay down in particular, in unambiguous and unequivocal terms, that religion is the people's right and government has no right to legislate upon it.

Rai Bahadur B. Vaidya Nath Das

Rai Bahadur B. Vaidyanath Das, B.A., President Benares District Zamindars' Association says :

Since the publication of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report, the press is busy ventilating the opinions of different classes of politicians, either supporting or rejecting the scheme outlined therein. The report has been approved by the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and the Government of India Bill has also been formally introduced in the House of Commons. From the nationalists' point of view, the reforms are illusory and unsatisfactory, from the point of view of those who are in power in Parliament, the scheme confers vast rights and privileges on the Indian people and constitutes a definite advance towards the realisation of responsible Government in India. It is said that India has either to accept the reforms, which are being conceded, or remain as she is.

When we look at the thing dispassionately, we find only one course open to us. We have to work the scheme and find out its shortcomings from actual operation. No doubt, the various reservations, Governor-General's and Governors' special responsibilities, legislative and financial discretionary powers and other curtailments of the legislature's power, are some of the major germs, which will in the long run infect the whole constitution with their injurious propensities. Para 92 of the Report is a clear indication of the length to which the discretionary powers can be used. Such being the nature of the special responsibilities, what would be the result of the reforms, only the future can tell. But from the working of the present constitution and the position which the ministers occupy therein, it can safely be said that occasions might arise when the extreme powers might be used and the reforms nullified.

But with all these drawbacks, it can safely be said that the constitution as outlined in the J. P. C. Report is not unworkable, though a great part of its practicability and its liberal

interpretation would depend largely on the views taken and the policies adopted by the Governor-General and the Governors of the various provinces. If they happen to be liberal-minded and anxious to wield as little power as possible, the ministers will enjoy sufficient independence to make their voice felt and their advice adopted. On the other hand, they may act in a way in which the ministry will be reduced to non-entity and will play the tune that will be demanded of them from time to time.

The creation of second chambers in some of the provinces will help the stable elements in our society to have some check on the lower house, which may launch revolutionary schemes and thus may try to bring about some radical changes in the social and economic spheres. So will indirect election to the Central Legislature keep up a fair number of representatives of the stable elements of the Indian population in the administration of the country.

With all its drawbacks the reforms should be worked, and I think that, if reactionary interpretation is not put upon them, they may constitute a definite step forward. The policy of sterile agitation was going on for the last several years in this country, without realising the cherished goal. The end has seen complete divorce from the old policy and entrance of the extremists in the Legislative Assembly, which indicates that they have at last realised that a constructive programme ought to have gone side by side with the agitation. Rejection may not only check the pace of reforms, but may prolong and tighten the present machinery of Government—a consequence which no nationalist will ever welcome.



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The Second All-Bengal Landholders' Conference

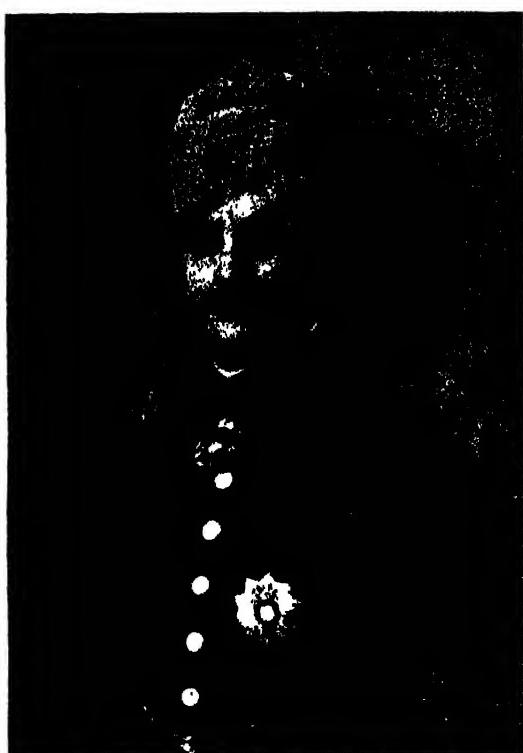
THE Second Session of the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference was held on the 23rd December last in the hall of British Indian Association at Calcutta under the Presidentship of the Hon'ble Maharradjahiraja Sir Kameswar Singh of Darbhanga. It evoked considerable enthusiasm among the landed magnates and scarcely any district of the province went unrepresented.

The Raja Sahebs of Hathwa and Amawan graced the Conference with their presence and so did the Hon'ble Sir B. L. Mitter, Member, Executive Council of the Governor of Bengal and Sir B. P. Singh Roy, Minister Local Self-Government, Bengal, on special invitation.

Mr. Prafulla Nath Tagore, President, British Indian Association and Chairman of the Reception Committee, accorded a warm welcome to the President-elect, delegates and the numerous gentlemen present and said in the course of a weighty speech :

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

It is a melancholy fact that economic depression, through which the country is passing, shows no visible signs of improvement, at any rate in the near future. The agriculturists have kept making defaults in payment of rents, resulting in their landlords being hit very hard. Our responsibility to the Exchequer remains unrelaxed and unabated while arrears of rent are growing year by year. Unless speedier and more effective methods of realisation of arrears of rents are devised, the doom of the landholding community could not be averted or deferred long. That is the reason why we desired the introduction of the Garnishee system in our province, that is the reason why the need for certificate power is felt to be an important necessity to-day. They, however, are not all. By themselves they do not bring us the relief we want, namely, quick disposal and speedy execution. It is only a Rent Court with powers of prompt execution which can give the relief we landlords want.



When we are being knocked down for arrears of revenue, a problem which has caused heavy deterioration in purchasing power, we learn with dismay and disappointment that the Board of Economic Enquiry is considering the propriety of suggesting and recommending to Government a legislative measure whose object should be to bring arrears of rent down to the level of ordinary debts and deprive it of its character as a first charge. Under the Tenancy Act, rent is a first charge and we have every right to sell the defaulter's estate free from encumbrances for arrears of rent. The Economic Board is trying to rob the sanctity of rent, an event which should revolutionise the entire conception and upset the basis of landlordism in Bengal. Against such insidious attempts we lodge our strong protest.



Mr. Prafulla Nath Tagore

It is also true that if we want to be relieved of the problem of economic depression it has to be devised how agriculture could be made a paying business and how better and further avenues of employment could be found for our own provincials. No recovery plan can be effective unless we take these into due consideration. The State should plan their efforts with due recognition of the economic formula of better employment, better living, better farming and better marketing for the benefit first and last of our own men. The agriculturists need funds, and it is for funds that they go to money-lenders. Unless the agriculturists' holdings could be made economic, regeneration of the agricultural conditions in the province will be a far cry. I have watched with

concern the activity of a plethora of uninformed and theoretic publicists in our province who have sedulously kept fanning the flame of disunion between the landholders and ryots in the matter of division of proprietary rights, conveniently manœuvring to side-track real issues, leaving genuine sores unattended to. I am definitely of opinion that the protection of land should be of primary concern to both the landlord and the tenant; upon its development depends the prosperity of both. But irresponsible agitators have so confounded the issues as to create none but ill-feeling between the two and feeling of general animosity towards vested interests. Their misrepresentation has given rise to activities calculated to breed class hatred, forgetful of the interests in the cultivators' holdings, in the preservation of which lies the effective remedy for agricultural degeneration. I

regret the confounding of the issues ; it keeps us back from approaching the right solution of the problem.

The slogan of the "nationalisation of zamindaries" is in the air. Nationalisation of zamindaries would prove to be most prejudicial to the ryots, not to the zamindars, unless by nationalisation its protagonists mean expropriation pure and simple. It is a matter of public knowledge that the ryots under the permanently settled zamindars have the best of rights and privileges, and I can put this to our friends as a challenge, that under no system of state-landlordism, however scientific and well-organised it may be, the ryots do enjoy half the privileges they are enjoying now in the matter of the rate of rent, and payment thereof. I would like to know of any other system of land tenure whereunder the average rate of rent of the majority of ryots having similar fertile lands as are found in our province is a little over Rs. 3/- per acre.

The movement that we find against the land system of our province is nursed by sheer misrepresentation, and it is our bounden duty to help to dissipate by reflecting upon it in the light of understanding. The task is far from easy, but has to be faced and tackled ; difficulties are to be overcome. In my view, we should encourage the publication of literature, giving unprejudiced view of the land system ; we should place before the public genuine needs of the ryots ; we should also see that the economic structure of rural Bengal is not in any way shattered beyond repair. Gentlemen, personally I will not regret the day when lands in the hands of the zamindars of the province are nationalised such as has been done in Ireland within living memory upon payment of adequate compensation to the landlord. Upon such basis, gentlemen, I should be a most ardent advocate of nationalisation of lands and upon no other.

JUTE RESTRICTION SCHEME

Voluntary restriction in itself is a capital idea, but it presupposes three conditions to be a success ; education of the grower sufficient to realise where his best interest lay, patriotism in your own men not to utilise him to serve selfish ends, and a determination on the part of the authorities to see that none but a fair deal receives either their sanction or encouragement.

To my mind, legislation coupled with fixation of a minimum price of jute is the only recourse to an effective check on heedless over-production of jute in the country. Be that as it may, we landholders of all Bengal, desire to appeal to His Excellency's Government to leave no loop-hole for the benefit of this most sympathetic and benevolent measure to go to or be monopolised by anybody other than the grower himself.

THE J. P. C. REPORT

I cannot conceal from myself the fact that the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee on the White Paper is disappointing. I will not say that it is unacceptable, for I believe in co-operation, in the spirit of the great Raja Ram Mohan Roy, and, in our own day, of the astutest statesmen of our time Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, but it is disappointing even though it recognises that India has a case for movement forward. The scheme of Government set out in the Report strikes me as one which has kept the British standpoint prominently in view. Perhaps that is not unnatural, but to our misfortune, the Indian point of view has been laboriously kept in the background. Indian viewpoint, Indian aspirations have been overshadowed by an over-powering desire, an irresistible determination on the part of the powers that be not to let go their hold upon every aspect of Indian administration, Indian life and Indian activity.

There is another point of vital importance which all those who have carefully gone through the pages of the Report cannot have failed to notice. It is the scrupulous, almost studied avoidance of any reference to what we have, ever since the King-Emperor's announcement in 1921, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Central Legislature been accustomed to regard as the ultimate political goal of India, namely, Dominion Status to be attained in the near future as an equal partner in the Empire. Since the announcement by His Majesty, repeated assurances have been given us of the attainment of the status on behalf of the Imperial Government by the Prime Minister, and with the authority of His Majesty, by his Viceroy in India.

The constitution as outlined in the Report is a rigid one. Minute and complicated restraints have been imprinted upon the Constitution rather than any attempt has been made to avoid them.

An examination of the reserve powers and safeguards proposed and suggested to be placed at the disposal of Governor, to be exercised and used in his discretion, points to what can hardly be regarded as palatable and encouraging to a people striving for political enfranchisement. And, if by the retention of these reserve powers and safeguards it is meant to hold India under perpetual tutelage, and never to allow her children to grow to political manhood, we cannot reprobate them too strongly.

The scheme of the Report savours of no democratic principle. Democracy, under which it is just as possible for a sober well-organised minority to convert itself into a majority, as it is possible for a giddy reckless majority to be turned into a minority, has been given a wide berth. Under its scheme the majority, whatever its political outlook may be, is a perpetual majority and the minority, whatever its administrative outlook may be, is a perpetual minority, the situation never to be revised except at heavy risk and cost. Situated as we are, sandwiched between a powerful majority community and a section of our own people, thanks to the so-called Poona Pact, to those of our men who manœuvred the presence there of some men arrogating to themselves the character of representatives from the province and last, if not the least, to the prophet and the dictator, I sometimes wonder if these reserve powers vested in the Governor, and judiciously exercised by him, are not our only source of protection, protection of a perpetual minority though playing a dominant part in the economic and intellectual life of the province. These powers are so varied in their character and so heavy in their proportions that I conceive none but a superman, of the type of Lord Ronaldshay (now Marquess of Zetland) and Sir John Anderson can honestly undertake to discharge them. Then, and then only the reserve powers shall have justified themselves.

FEDERATION

On no view of constitutional soundness can you imagine a politically autonomous province working smoothly without responsibility in the centre, which under the Report has been indefinitely put off because Federation cannot be set up in the near future. I appreciate the difficulties by which the problem is surrounded, but the Federation conceived in the new constitution may well be speeded up, at any rate, with the units already in existence, so as to allow the autonomous provinces to work with full vigour, and us to justify that we deserve the trust imposed on us.

But the feature of the Report of the Select Committee which should gratify us is the installation of the Second Chamber, with such qualifications for its membership as should ensure it to function as an effective and efficient Second Chamber, to which I have no doubt that the landlords of Bengal shall find adequate representation by election or nomination, though I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that as a replica of the lower Chamber it stands to defeat the very purpose for which it is created, namely, as a House of revision and check. And when I say adequate representation, I will not conceal from you the fact that, I have in my mind the under-representation of landowning interest against which we have always protested without any result. We have over and over again urged, and I am tempted to urge once more, that we form a community which is an asset on the side of the Government. We have never been found wanting to do justice to ourselves in any position of responsibility to which we have been invited, whether in the provincial arrangements or other spheres of activity. It is on these grounds that I claim that we are entitled to larger representation whether in the legislature of the province or of the centre, commensurate with the interest which we represent as a body. We demand justice and nothing short of justice.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT

What gratifies us most is the security which has been given to the Permanent Settlement by the Report of the Joint Committee. But behind the silver lining there are clouds the bursting of which should have been left to the judgment of the autonomous provinces, rather than suggested or dictated with all the authority of the Joint Committee in their Report. They are the suggested tax on agricultural incomes, and the estate succession duty, in the Report called duty on succession to land. The objectionable features of these levies are self evident, but this is not the occasion when I should go into a consideration of the wisdom or soundness of the uncalled for suggestions of the Committee on these heads. The advocates of tax on agricultural incomes argue on and from the hypothesis, that a large profit is intercepted by the landlords, that land revenue is a rent and therefore, there is no reason why agricultural income should be freed from taxation, and that the burden

of taxation borne by the agriculturists is not equal to that paid by non-agriculturists. All these propositions are either fallacious or unsound, and will not bear a moment's scrutiny in the light of historical facts and actual state of affairs.

We are moreover definitely of opinion that an amalgamated duty on succession to land, in other words, death duty, suggestions in respect of both of which we owe to the economic genius of Sir Walter Layton, will be unpopular and unjustifiable and would lead to serious complications.

COMMUNAL AWARD

The Joint Committee has done India a distinct disservice by adhering to the communal allocation wrongly named 'award' with a view to giving it a solemnity which it does not deserve. It is not an award. It never was, as my esteemed friend Sir N. N. Sircar, now the legal member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, has proved beyond doubt and civil. It was Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's gift to those who never wanted it. It is his contribution to high politics and higher statesmanship which suggests, and in fact establishes, the principle of protection, further protection, and yet further protection for those who are protected by numbers, over-protected by weightage, and of sacrifice of those who are unprotected chiefly by lack of numbers and for want of weightage, the legitimate due of every class of minority whose views as to their union with or separation from the majority ought, from every point of view, moral or political, to be supreme. We fully appreciate and support the claim for reservation of seats for our Muslim brothers where they are in a minority. But I fail to realise the propriety and equity of a majority community such as our brothers are in Bengal, and in the Punjab, agitating for protection, by reservation. Judged by any standard, reservation for a majority is indefensible in theory. This artificial restriction is, to say the least of it, a deadweight on the growth both of the majority and the minority. It stands to retard national progress. It should moreover have an injurious, nay prejudicial, effect on the majority itself, for it makes it rely on legislative provision to keep up its position and not on its own inherent strength.

HIGH COURTS

I must confess that neither the proposal for provincialisation of the High Courts, particularly the Calcutta High Court, nor the introduction of service men as Chief Justices, appeals to me, and I feel that they cannot have your support either. Such a decision, I make bold to say, is fraught with grave results in that, it may help to create suspicion in the Indian mind about the *bona fide* of British intentions and British admissions. It will be an unfortunate suspicion, but it is inevitable. It would have been a far more satisfactory arrangement if the Joint Committee had decided to achieve an uniformity of treatment under which all High Courts in India were centralised and their establishments placed upon the Central revenues. And here, we landlords, are in agreement with the Statutory Commission that "it involves no denial of the principles of Provincial Self-Government for, of course the High Court, whether in Calcutta or elsewhere, in carrying on its judicial work is entirely independent of the Executive and is outside the range of criticism by the Legislatures." We think that the Central and Provincial Governments may well delegate their administrative control over the respective High Courts to the Federal Court, thereby making the judiciary in India more independent of the Executive.

MUTUAL TRUST

Our administrative relations with England are of an indissoluble character, and it is for the mutual benefit of both that I urge upon you not to fail in your supreme duty to work the Reforms for all they are worth from which nothing but good will come, as I foresee it. Gentlemen, by tradition as also by association we Indians, I mean the general Indian public whole-heartedly desire the continuation of economic relations with England in preference to all other countries. But these relations, such as they are, must be mutually beneficial without the element of domination of one over the other. British trade in India which the Joint Committee have been over-eager to perpetuate should depend upon the goodwill and genuine support of the Indians. No amount of safeguard can help it indefinitely and perpetually. Anxious as we are to see amicable relations in economic sphere between the two countries placed upon a permanent footing we feel that these brakes in the Report called 'safeguards', should be dropped altogether from the constitution. It is urgently necessary that all political parties in India should for the moment combine to make clear to the

British public the fact that the proposed constitution will not satisfy all shades of political opinion in the country and to urge the adoption of such changes and amendments as would make India contented, at least for some reasonable time, with the transfer of power under the new constitution which I repeat again should be worked for all it is worth. For ourselves, it is equally necessary that we landlords, young and old, should combine, the various Landholders' Associations, whether in the Province, in the Division or in the District, in Bengal or in the sister Province of Bihar, should combine and make a common cause against the ills with which we may be faced.

The Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga then delivered his presidential address and said in the course of the same :

I need not remind you that we have a very troublesome time ahead. The political and economic factors working in this country have now landed us at a crossway where we must pause and decide about the direction of our journey.

We have now before us the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Indian Constitutional Reforms.

You have, I dare say, analysed the current of present-day politics and tried to visualise the implications of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Committee.

At first sight it would appear, and with a good deal of reason, that there are only two courses open for us viz., that we should either allow ourselves to be swept away by the political tornado that is raging round us or helplessly take shelter under the protecting wings of the Governors and Governor-General who are going to get 'Special Responsibility' and adequate powers to safeguard the legitimate interest of the minorities. Although we have not been specifically mentioned as a minority and the expression has been left undefined, I am led to believe that the term is bound to include our class which, though numerically weak, is closely knit in the social and economic fabric of the nation.

On the eve of the introduction of an enlarged democratic constitution the most dominant and organised political party in the country is the Congress party. It has defined its attitude unequivocally and firmly in 1931 at Karachi. Up till now it is working on that line. But no one knows what it is going to do in future.

EFFECT OF PRESENT-DAY CONGRESS PROGRAMME

Taking facts as they are and without speculating on the future course of Congress policy and programme, let us examine for a moment how we will be affected by the present day Congress programme.

In the permanently settled areas, particularly in Bengal and Bihar, the bulk of zamindari is based on three cardinal principles, viz : (1) fixity of land tenure, (2) fixity of rent for the produce of the land, (3) fixity of revenue payable to the Government. Those who had invested money on the assurances given by the Government and embarked on an arduous enterprise had little idea that, when the lands will be developed and time would come to enjoy the fruits of their and their posterity's labour, those privileges and rights would be encroached upon either by the Government or the people. But the tendency at present is that our rights and privileges are made the target of direct or indirect attack from all sides.

The Karachi resolution of the Congress, in defining the fundamental rights has clearly laid down that the Congress party will strive, among other things to secure

(a) substantial reduction in agricultural rent or revenue paid by the peasantry, and, in case of uneconomic holdings, exemption from rent for such period as may be necessary, relief being given to small zamindars, wherever necessary, by reason of such reduction ;

(b) imposition of a progressive income-tax on agricultural income above a fixed minimum ;

(c) a graduated inheritance tax.

The provincial legislatures are going to be given full liberty to legislate on [these matters. Now it is for you to consider whether or not all these items will disturb the arrangement made by the permanent settlement and run counter to the spirit that animated it.

Further, the utterance of Mr. Gandhi, the sole representative of the Congress at the Round Table Conference, must set us a-thinking. He said at the meeting of the Federal Structure Committee, on November 10, 1931 (I have taken it from the publication entitled "India's Case for Swaraj") : "I am afraid that for years to come India would be engaged in passing legislation in order to raise the downtrodden and the fallen from the mire into which they have been sunk by the capitalists, by the landlords, by the so-called higher classes and then subsequently and scientifically by the British rulers. If we are to lift these people from the mire, then it would be the bounden duty of the National Government of India, in order to set its house in order, continually to give preference to these people and even free them from the burdens under which they are being crushed. And, if the landlords, zemindars, monied men and those who are today enjoying privileges—I do not care whether they are Europeans or Indians—if they find that they are discriminated against, I shall sympathise with them, but I will not be able to help them, even if I could possibly do so, because I would seek their assistance in that process, and without their assistance it would not be possible to raise these people out of the mire."

THE ONLY SAFEGUARD

The only safe-guard that is recommended by the Parliamentary Committee is that the "Governor should be instructed to reserve for the signification of his Majesty's pleasure any bill passed by the Legislature which would alter the character of the Permanent Settlement". We may note here in passing that we have been treated in this respect differently from the Talukdars etc. Any legislation affecting their rights and privileges will require the previous sanction of the Governor-General or Governor. It is quite natural for us to apprehend that if the Congress party dominates in the future legislatures of the country, legislations are bound to be introduced which will directly or indirectly make serious inroads on the rights and privileges that we enjoy under the Permanent Settlement. The responsibility of his Majesty's representative in this country or his Majesty's [Government will therefore be a very heavy one. He will have to choose between taking the odium of resisting the will of the legislatures, and allowing a minority to be crushed by the majority.

The question of the finances of the province will weigh greatly with the executive and if they will be serious about working the new constitution, it will be difficult for them to resist the temptation of squeezing us out of existence by one form of taxation or the other.

The Federal Finance Committee have given a forecast of what the provincial finances would be under the new constitution and we cannot reasonably hope that the provincial budgets would be balanced without further taxing the land or its produce, with which both the zemindars and tenants are so vitally concerned. It is very likely that, in their anxiety to make a success of their administration, and in the case of a Congress ministry, the pledge at Karachi will not allow them to give adequate consideration to our class, who are by no means economically well off.

I really do not know how far the safeguards recommended by the Committee will be effective for our purposes and how many occasions we shall have of coming into conflict with a hostile majority in the legislature for the preservation of our interest. In the case of Taluqdars, if the previous sanction is withheld, opportunities of conflict will be minimised, but not so in our case. The passage of a bill calculated to divest us of our income will give rise to all the acrimony that a fight for self-preservation entails. How far we will succeed, how far we will be organised, in what manner we shall adjust ourselves, are questions that can be answered by us and us alone.

INADEQUATE REPRESENTATION

As we know, we have not been given adequate representation in the legislatures. We have no organisation worth the name, to educate the general electorate to our view-point, whereas the Congress party has got a widespread and well-knit organisation throughout the country to propagate its views and persuade the intelligent mass and politically ambitious intelligentsia to follow it. It is indeed a very difficult task for us to capture any general seat in the Provincial Assemblies. The upper house in the provinces will be so constituted as to make our voice ineffective, unless and until the lower house adequately represents the members of our class.

DEMOCRACY CONTROLLED BY AUTOCRACY

Speaking on the White Paper in the Council of State on 27th March, 1938, I had said that the form of government we were going to have was 'neither the substance of independence which Mahatma Gandhi wanted nor the Dominion Status, which India expected to have.' It was 'going to be a democracy controlled by an autocracy—a novel constitutional experiment the result of which it is difficult to appraise.' The Joint Parliamentary Committee has not improved the character of the White Paper scheme to any appreciable degree in order to meet India's demand for self-government. Its recommendations have not satisfied any section of the Indian people and cannot solve the problem of Indian unrest. Possibilities are that it will aggravate the friction between classes and communities and usher in an era of discord and growing discontent. But I think that nothing better could be expected when the classes, communities and interests are so much antagonistic and distrustful to one another. The safeguards proposed in the new constitution are the natural outcome of the present state of the country and the only way to achieve Dominion Status for India, which has been promised to us by the representatives of His Majesty, is to demonstrate, in the actual working of the constitution, that India can adjust her differences and afford satisfactory protection to all classes, communities and interests. If we can achieve this, I have no doubt that the element of autocracy and irresponsibility in the Constitution Act will disappear before long.

Further, at this critical period of the political progress India has fortunately got in Lord Willingdon a highly sympathetic administrator and statesman to guide her destiny. He expressed, soon after he assumed the charge of Viceroyalty, that he wished to be the first constitutional Governor-General of the Dominion of India and I dare say he meant to strive for what he said. If you have read the private letters he wrote to Mr. Lloyd George as early as 1916 (published in the fourth volume of his "War Memoirs") you must have been struck with the earnestness of his purpose. He was moved by generous impulses. He was not afraid of taking risks. He was anxious to bind England and India in the bonds of amity and Imperial unity. I have every reason to believe that whatever may be the shortcomings of the new Constitution Act he will strive hard for the healthy growth of conventions which may ultimately give to the Indian people the same powers and privileges which His Majesty's subjects in the full-fledged Dominions enjoy. I hope that the foundation, which he will lay, will, under his successors, result in the fulfilment of India's demands for full self-government. I am definitely of opinion that the new constitution must be worked and we as an important part of the body politic, must boldly strive to bring about a healthy atmosphere.

But apart from what the Government does, it is the paramount duty of all thinking members of our community to do, jointly and severally, all we can for the amelioration of the distressed condition of our tenants. If there is anything that can kill the land-owning community it is the impoverished tenantry. It is, therefore, to our interest that their economic condition improves. We must help them to get better produce from the lands they cultivate and better market for their produce.

In this connection it is gratifying to note that Gandhiji, who wields such a tremendous influence with the masses, has resolved to devote himself exclusively for the economic welfare of the rural people. Unless his scheme of work is such as may tend to promote class conflict or transgress the bounds of religion, I see no reason why we should not welcome it and render such help as we can to the new movement which he has started. I hope he will never allow it to be mixed up with his politics and it will be possible for every section of the people to co-operate in the gigantic work which he has undertaken to do.

HELP TO SMALL ZEMINDARS

Our next important duty is to help the small zemindars to recover the position of influence which they have lost. We cannot neglect this problem. I apprehend that, if things will be allowed to drift like this, the number of zemindars will dwindle to almost a vanishing point.

PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

No less essential for us is to tackle the problem of unemployment amongst the educated young men. I think that we can do this if we industrialise agriculture and follow a concerted plan.

It is undoubtedly a task of great magnitude and giving employment in Government or semi-military cannot go very far.

On account of the uncertainty of its future and the injurious nature of its present programme we cannot with impunity adopt the Congress politics ; we cannot as well depend for our absolute security on the Constitution Act, if enacted on the lines recommended by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. We have therefore on the one hand to make one more attempt for the acceptance of our just demands by the British Parliament and on the other, take steps to ensure that the reformed legislatures may not adversely affect us.

The following resolutions were passed by the Conference :

Resolution 1.

That this Conference of the landholders of Bengal considers the scheme, as outlined in the Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, as an advance towards responsible Government but nevertheless recognises that the constitutional frame-work suffers from inherent weaknesses and vital imperfections. The uncertainty of the Federation with which the idea of responsibility at the Centre is bound up, the absence of provision for automatic extension of responsible Government on the ideals of the Dominions, the superior authority of the security services, the limited form of transfer of law and order in the provinces are some of the blemishes on the Constitution, which need be removed for making the reforms acceptable to the Indian people.

This Conference, while warmly appreciating that the sanctity of Regulation I of 1793 has been duly acknowledged in the Report, respectfully urges on the Government that the Constitution Act should provide in unequivocal language that it would not be within the competence of the Indian Legislature to alter or repeal or indirectly affect the said enactment.

This Conference is disappointed at the suggested imposition of tax on agricultural income and of death duty which would assuredly run counter to the safeguard provided in the matter of the Permanent Settlement besides prejudicially affecting the interests of the agriculturists. This Conference also feels disappointed at the inadequacy of representation granted to the landlords in the legislatures, central and provincial, a matter which the landlords press upon the Government with all the emphatics that they command.

This Conference gravely apprehends that the chance of smooth working of the Constitution in Bengal may be wrecked on the rocks of the Communal Award and the Poona Pact which enunciate undemocratic principles and go against all canons of justice and fair play and respectfully urges upon His Majesty's Government for amending "the Award" on the lines suggested by the Rt. Hon'ble the Marquess of Zetland in the Joint Committee.

Resolution 2.

- (a) *That this Conference views with grave alarm the continuance of the acute economic depression which has seized the country for the last few years and apprehends a thorough dismantling of the economic structure in the absence of any scientific recovery plan, adjusted to the particular needs of the situation and peculiar conditions of the province. This Conference, while recognising Agriculture as the basic industry of Bengal, is of opinion that the pursuit of a progressive agricultural policy eliminating impediments to efficient production and improved marketing with an eye to make Agriculture a paying industry can achieve the desired result.*

- (b) That this Conference fully recognises that the Jute crop has vital and intimate connection with the prosperity of the province and that, in the interest of enhancing the purchasing power of the cultivators, provisions for scientific marketing of the crop are considered essential. The Conference is further of opinion that the regulation of the jute cultivation finds its own justification in so far as it should ensure a rise in the prices of the jute crop which could be profitably shared by the growers themselves.
- (c) That this Conference is of opinion that the abolition of the export duty on rice and the reduction of Railway freights on agricultural produce, coal and coke would go a great way towards improving the economic condition of the people and urges on the Government to take necessary steps for the purpose.
- (d) That this Conference is of opinion that the recovery of settlement costs during the period of economic depression through which the province is passing would seriously hamper the realisation of rents and the payment of revenue and that this Conference recommends to the Government that the recovery of costs be postponed till better times prevail.

Resolution 3.

That this Conference urges on the Government for the establishment of a Debt Conciliation Board and of a Land Mortgage Bank to restore the credit and relieve the indebtedness of the landlords.

Resolution 4

That this Conference is of opinion that (a) the present system of assessment of land revenue in the Sunderbans and other temporarily settled estates in Bengal is most inequitable and unjust and this conference urges upon the Government the desirability of its early revision and re-introduction of the former basis of assessment on district acreage rate ; (b) and further that the continued economic depression in the country calls for a remission of land revenue in the temporarily settled estates in general and Sunderban estates in particular.

Resolution 5.

- (a) That this Conference is clearly of opinion that agricultural rent as the first charge on land should not on any account be interfered with.
- (b) That this Conference requests the Government to grant liberally and freely certificate power to the landlords under section 158A of the Bengal Tenancy Act without unnecessary delay.
- (c) That this Conference recommends to the Government to undertake an early amendment of the Patni Regulation of 1819 in order to remove some of its defects and anomalies and thereby ensure its smooth working.
- (d) That this Conference respectfully urges upon the Government to so amend the Cess Act as will relieve the landlords of the burden of realising cesses of the tenants.
- (e) That this Conference strongly urges that after the sale of estates for land revenue dues, the zemindars should be given the same one month's grace to set aside the sale by depositing the amount of the revenue dues with necessary costs and interests as provided in the Patni Sale Law and in the Civil Procedure Code for setting aside sale under those laws.

Sir B. L. Mitter, who addressed the Conference, said that there were many problems facing the community. He wondered how many of the landholders studied the Permanent Settlement of 1793 while they were so anxious about its preservation and protection of the rights conferred by it. They should read the condition prevalent at that time and of the changes undergone by the passage of time. At that time if the productivity of the land was less than what has been at present due to the Government's expenditure of public money, would not the Government be entitled to claim a share of the profit which has now been accruing to the zemindars? This, he said, was by way of illustration. They thought that because the J. P. C. had recognised their rights and special powers had been given to the Governors they were safe. But Sir Brajendra warned them they were not so secured. Times had changed, condition of land had also changed and with the changing of times the zemindars must change themselves. The best safeguard for them was the public opinion if they could marshall it in their favour, if they could prove that their interests and that of their tenants were identical, if they again could recover the position which their predecessors had as natural leaders of the people—that safeguard would again return to them and he urged the zemindars to work in that direction.

Kumar T. C. Goswami, Bar-at-Law, moved an amendment to the First Resolution. The amendment ran as follows :

This Conference of landholders of Bengal considers the scheme as outlined in the Report of the British Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, as unsatisfactory and inadequate, and regards the proposed constitutional frame-work as one which owing to inherent weakness and vital imperfections, is likely to break down. The uncertainty of the Federation, with which the idea of Responsibility at the Centre has been bound up; the absence of any provision of automatic development of responsible Government on the model of the Dominions; the status which has been sought to be conferred on the members of what have been called security services; the restricted form in which the administration of Law and Order has been proposed to be transferred to popular Governments in the provinces; these are some of the many defects in the proposed Constitution, making it unacceptable to the Indian people. This Conference, while it appreciates the acknowledgment by the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the sanctity of Regulation I of 1793, desires to place on record its sense of disappointment at the suggested imposition of a tax on agricultural income and of a death duty, which would in a large measure neutralise the proposed safeguard relating to the Permanent Settlement and would, incidentally, prejudicially affect the interests even of the agriculturists.

This Conference is strongly convinced of the injustice of the decision of the British Prime Minister which has come to be known as the 'Communal Award' and which, according to the J. P. C., is to be an integral part of the proposed Constitution, and views with grave concern the fact that the suggestion for a reasonable modification of the "Award" by the Marquis of Zetland was rejected by the J. P. C.

Speaking on his amendment Mr. Goswami said that he differed from the original resolution that the report was an advance towards responsible government. While a conservative body like All-Bengal Landholders' might not be down-right in their expression, at the same time an expression like the one in the resolution would most prejudicially affect the activities of the political parties not merely the Congress, for the thought that an expression from a conference like that would be quoted in England when it would suit their purpose to do so.

Referring to more representation of landholders Mr. Goswami said that it did not look very well to demand special representation when the zemindars claimed to be the natural leaders of the people. So long as there were special constituencies, there ought to be special representation for zemindars, but asking for more seats through special representation was something unreasonable and untenable. He had incorporated in his amendment provision against any attack on agricultural income and death tax but if they wanted to go further and say that Indian legislatures should never

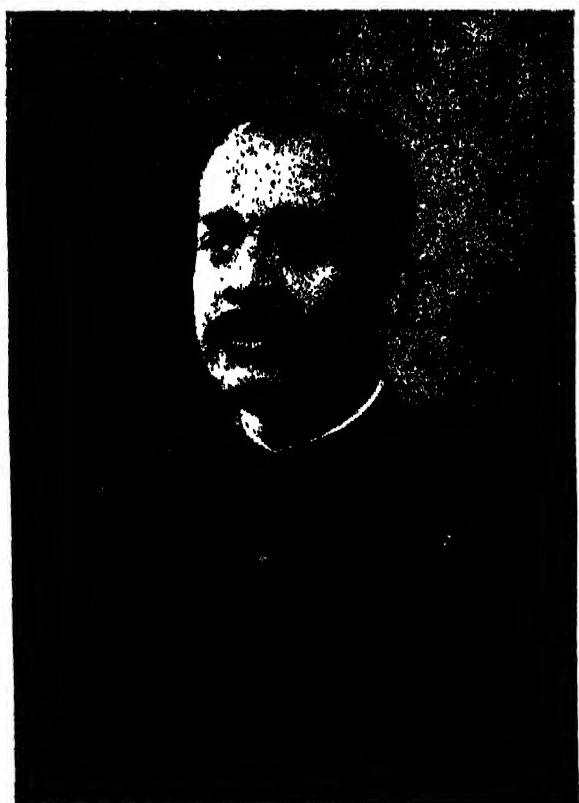
at any future time in any form or shape or manner touch the Permanent Settlement in that case Mr. Goswami thought that would be demanding too much. Therefore for the sake of expediency he urged the Conference to accept his amendment.

The amendment was put to vote and lost by two votes, 15 voting for 17 voting against. The original resolution was then adopted by the Conference.

In moving the 4th Resolution, Kumar Hiranya Kumar Mitter said :

It is my conviction, and I believe you will also agree with me, that our political clamour is mainly due to a sense of economic helplessness and whatever freedom we like to achieve in the field of politics is to enable us to secure better living conditions for the country.

It appears to me that most of our countrymen have missed the real purpose for which the people of India have been crying for political reforms. Is it merely to have the empty satisfaction and psychological pride of feeling politically independent of foreign domination, or is it to have opportunities for improving our economic life, of reducing the burdens of taxation, of getting relief from exploitation and of creating a sense of fellowship and understanding between the Government and the people? There can be no doubt that we seek political emancipation only in the hope that this will lead us to better conditions. May I ask you, to what extent the various stages of



Kumar H. K. Mitter.

political reforms of India have brought us nearer to these objectives? May I know if in a single direction the reforms of 1909 or of 1921 have rendered the administration of public affairs more economical? I am afraid the answer would be in the negative. I therefore feel that it would have been of much greater benefit to us all if, instead of wasting our energies over political reforms, we would have directed our enthusiasm towards bettering the economic circumstances under which we are all labouring. The effects of political reforms on the people in general, and on the landholders of Bengal in particular, have, as you all know, been more and more burdensome, so far at least as finances are concerned. Instead of one or two Executive Councillors doing necessary work we have 4 to 6 highly paid ministers and Executive Councillors who adorn the top of political administration, and where less than 50 intelligent and representative persons could advise the Government properly we have nearly three times

that number of legislators and that number is going still further to be increased. With their long travelling bills and halting allowances, with the increased waste of time and breath in the floors of legislature, with the long drawn debates and unwanted discussions in the Legislative Councils leading often to great disturbance of the equilibrium between the Government and the people, have we attained the least improvement in the economic life of the village in Bengal or have we secured the least reduction in the burden of taxation? I am afraid the results have been just the contrary.

It is not my intention to condemn the reforms that are coming. I am aware that a certain section of our countrymen demanded political reforms, and whatever may be their consequences, some changes in the constitution are called for. The exact nature of such changes can not yet be gauged, and unless and until the new proposals are put into operation, it will not be possible to judge their implications fully. I am rather inclined, therefore, to wait and see than to criticise and condemn.

Regarding the question of representation of the Landholders in the Legislature under the new constitution, I fully endorse the demand for increased seats, and I deplore the fact that we,— who not only have the greatest stake in the land but whose contribution to the making of the nation is the largest—have been neglected and relegated to a permanent position of ineffective minority with only five seats in the Lower House of Bengal and with a problematic position in the Upper House where we may find a seat only at the mercy of the party in majority in the lower Legislative Assembly. But my humble suggestion to you is that we should not fritter our energy and resources away in fighting among ourselves in course of these elections, thereby rendering our economic position still more precarious. In the state of financial depression through which we are all passing, we should try to conserve every unit of our capital, and it will be immensely conducive to our well-being if we all agree to entrust the selection of the requisite number of legislators from our rank to an impartial Parliamentary Board, composed of a few persons in whom we all have full confidence. This will not only save us a lot of trouble and expenses, but will also prevent the growth of mutual distrust and jealousy and help to bring about greater solidarity amongst ourselves.

We the landholders are in a most unenviable position and never was there a greater necessity for unity and concerted action amongst us than today. We are neither trusted by the people nor very much by the Government to whom we have always given unstinted support. Nor do we very much trust each other. Placed as we are, it is very doubtful if we can at all exist for more than another decade.

I have often tried to find out for what fault of ours we are thrown into this miserable condition. Our contribution to art and culture, our help to social and educational reforms, our support to indigenous trade and industry, our stand by political tranquility have always been generous and unhesitating. Hardly any class in the society can claim to have rendered as much service to the people as some of us have done and there is scarcely any list of subscribers for any purpose whatsoever which does not contain a majority of our names. Moreover, if our contributions to the agricultural classes are calculated and if only our remissions of rent from time to time are totalled, I am sure no other class can claim to have given away as many lakhs of rupees as we have provided in terms of crores. Why then are we unpopular today and why is a certain section anxious to bring about our destruction, I fail to understand. It is alleged that we, zemindars, are rolling in luxury, that we are idle and we are exploiters. May I ask our countrymen to look round and see how we live and how we have to work, not merely for our bread and maintenance of the property, but also for the good of the tenants in whose prosperity our own welfare lies? I would request our critics to just have a look at the merchant prince's way of life and judge for themselves if there is the least justification for levelling against us the charges of luxury and exploitation. I am inclined to think that in our case familiarity has bred contempt while the merchants and lawyers, doctors and bankers go unscathed. It appears to me that the causes underlying this selective condemnation are twofold, namely, the ill-informed and mischievous propaganda for non-payment of rent fanned for political purposes, and the increasing communal tension leading to indirect campaign against Hindu landholders.

If we want to remedy the present unpopularity of the zemindars, we must tackle both these problems. With regard to the first, namely, the no-rent campaign, which in recent years has caught the imagination of the tenants like bon-fire, I believe some concerted action on our part backed by resolute support of the Government, and necessary adjustment to ensure equitable relations, can meet the situation to a large extent. With regard to the second, however, namely, the growth of communal feeling, systematic and sustained efforts of all classes in our country will be necessary. The curse of communalism has entered into the very core of our nation's life and interested persons will never be found wanting to keep up the virulence of this malady. Our Muslim friends who are temporarily receiving undue advantages in different fields and who are feeling quite happy over

the situation are soon bound to be disillusioned, and ill-begotten privileges are sure to bring with them their own ruin. I know that under present circumstances it has become extremely difficult for many hindu landholders and tenants to get justice and fair play even at the hands of those who are expected impartially to maintain law and order and who are required to enforce justice, where one of the parties concerned happens to be Mahomedan, but I appeal to my hindu friends to be patient, and I am sure that this unnatural state of things must soon bring about its own end.

Such being the lot of landholders in Bengal in general, that of those concerned with temporarily settled tracts is still more precarious. We have not only all the troubles that other landholders are faced with, social, economic and political, but we are also ground down under a most iniquitous system of land revenue assessment that leaves us hardly any margin to meet our expenses. After the expiry of our former 99 years' and 40 years' leases the Government of Bengal have chosen to change the entire basis of revenue assessment from one of a more or less fixed revenue on acreage to one of 70% on gross collection. This was done at a period in which we were all labouring under the worst sufferings due to economic depression, and we were given neither time nor any opportunity to explain our difficulties and to place our viewpoints properly. The effect of this new assessment was most shocking, for, while under our old Kabuliats we were preparing ourselves at most for a "moderate enhancement" only, our revenue was suddenly raised at inordinate ratios, to give one example, from Rs. 1,473 to as much as Rs. 17,365 which could ultimately be reduced only to about Rs. 10,000. These enhancements were imposed upon us and new agreements were forced on threat of further additions in case we did not agree to them in course of a few days, and we were also compelled to agree to a stipulation that we shall not be entitled to seek redress in a court of law in connection with these new revenue assessments. I do not know if anywhere else in India such a system of assessment exists nor do I think that even the autocrats of the middle ages could conceive of such enhanced levies at one stroke.

Gentlemen, we made representation, we were preparing for protests against this new arrangement when we were assured by Late Sir Provash Chandra Mitler, who was then the Honourable Member in-charge, that our case would be revised and would meet with sympathetic consideration. We felt confirmed of this assurance when the Director of Land Records and the District Settlement Officer held enquiries and reported to Government how we had been hit, and also testified to the enormous expenses we incurred and the great risks we undertook in constructing and maintaining embankments and sluice gates and in various improvements to the property. We were also assured by two eminent gentlemen, one placed now in high Government office and another a premier landholder who could speak with authority, that we would receive ample consideration. On such assurances we stopped all agitation and entered into new agreements. To our misfortune, however, Sir Provash met with a sudden and untimely death and with him, it appears, all the assurances of Government vanished. At a period when the whole country is passing through a most relentless economic distress our revenues have been increased in a terrific ratio and we are all in a hopeless quandary. The temporarily settled tracts are not a negligible area in the economic sphere of this province. In the district of 24 Pergannas alone nearly rupees two lakhs are collected from these tracts only by way of cess. Can we not claim to have better hearing and more sympathetic treatment?

I now come to the second part of my resolution referring to a remission of land revenue. You are all aware how terribly distressed the country has been due to continued fall in agricultural prices. The condition in the temporarily settled estates has been as bad, if not worse than what exists elsewhere. The tenants' distress has made our collections difficult and on the top of that there is considerable amount of unwillingness to pay rent. Certificate procedures are delayed and Civil Courts can hardly give us relief, for, at the least pressure land is being surrendered by the tenants and we are practically buying back our own lands. We the landholders are thus faced with grave dangers. For the last five years we have somehow managed to meet the demands of Government and we are now in our last lega. Unless a suitable remission of land revenue in our areas is provided for without any further delay, our destruction is almost certain. I am sure that situation will be good neither for the Government nor for the tenants. I am certain that the Government cannot manage the property half as economically as we do, and this has been proved on more than one occasion in the temporarily settled tracts, for example, in the Fraserganj property leased out to the

Maharaja of Kassimbazar. I am also certain that the conditions of the peasantry will in no way improve if we are removed from the field. We have sunk money, we have built and maintained embankments at enormous cost, embankments which are practically the life and soul of the Sunderban property, we have waited in the matter of collection of our rents and we have given our tenants facilities which no Government Department would provide. In the interest of all concerned therefore the landholders of the temporarily settled tracts should be saved and the only way to do it at the present moment is by a remission of land revenue for the time being.

We fail to understand what the policy of the Government is with regard to the revenue settlement in the temporarily settled areas. Is it the idea to get the value of land and of our property reduced from year to year till it becomes thoroughly unattractive or is it to increase the value of land and enhance the quality of the property from period to period towards which end we and our forefathers have contributed so much? The present land revenue policy in the temporarily settled areas can have no other effect than to reduce the value of the property and to throw it into waste once more. This is because in the first place no intermediate landholders can have, under such a policy, the inclination to invest any money to improve the property. In the second place this policy must inevitably lead to large increase in the rents payable by the tenants, thereby causing no end of trouble. Under terms of our agreement with the tenants we are entitled to pass on all increase in the revenue to our tenants by way of enhanced rents. This privilege has been retained by the landlords from time immemorial and we have Kabuliats as old as of the time of Nawab Nazir Ali that contain such stipulation. Apprehensive of the enforcement of this condition the tenants have already got thoroughly frightened at the way in which Government have imposed enhanced revenue, and they are ready to give up land at any moment. I do not know how Government will maintain the property if such a state of affairs continued.

One word more and I have finished. We have never been so lucky as today in having a most sympathetic Head of the province. His Excellency Sir John Anderson is leaving no stone unturned to improve the economic condition of the province and what he has already achieved by securing for Bengal its rightful shares of the Jute Export Duty as well as by carrying through schemes of jute restrictions and other measures of economic planning will ever be cherished in the memory of generations to come with grateful feelings. We have two sons of Bengal, Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter and Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, at the helm of public affairs in the Province and in the Central Government. The yeoman's service that Sir Nripendra has rendered to the cause of Bengal, in India as well as in Great Britain, can never be forgotten. When such able statesmen are guiding our destiny, I fully hope that our cause will properly be looked after and our grievances will be remedied, if only we can represent the case properly and stand united.

In seconding the resolution Dr. Satya Churn Law said :

You all know of the history behind the Sunderban lands. The major portions of these lands are temporarily settled. The grantees with whom these lands were settled were in good old days considered very useful elements, as without them Government could not have reclaimed such a marshy, jungly, pestilential tract near Calcutta which afforded a home for wild animals and shelter to smugglers and pirates. This reclamation of waste lands was no doubt what most concerned the Government of the day, and the policy of any improvement of revenue was deemed of secondary and even subordinate interest. This outlook of the Government, however, has changed within recent years.

The waste lands, if not wholly reclaimed, have been fairly on the way to reclamation. Apparently the Government have no more concern over it. They have their eyes set on realisation of larger revenue by assessing the reclaimed estates on the basis of their assets. "Progressive moderation" which has been hitherto "the key-note of the policy of the Government" appears to have received a new orientation, if not a complete somersault. The policy of long term settlements is to be abandoned, and in temporary settled areas 50 p.c. of the assets of the landlords appear to be too low to be fixed as the maximum Government demand. Their profits are to be curtailed by reducing the percentages hitherto allowed to them, and even by reducing or disallowing bund and embankment charges. Increase of raiyati assets forms another link in the chain of devices and governmental measures whereby such end is sought to be achieved. Hardly one can imagine how far

inequity can go. It suits the convenience of the powers that be to forget the original circumstances under which the 1830 and 1858 rules were promulgated whereby the grantees covenanted for a progressive reclamation of immense areas of Sunderban jungles and had consistently and for generations striven to fulfil their obligations at immense sacrifice of labour and money—no recoupment of their invested capital having yet been made possible. They had staked their all on the agreed assurance of a "moderate assessment" of revenue on the expiry of their leases. And now they have their reward with a hopelessly short-term lease with an incongruous assessment, which only breathes contempt and indifference for those for whom they have been designed.

Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M.L.C., who moved the 5th Resolution, said in the course of his address :

We all know that our stake in the country is immense ; our responsibility to the administration is equally so ; we have to contribute yearly more than one-third of the total revenues of the Government of Bengal. Our past contributions had been the mainstay of the early British Administrations in India—in fact such contributions had enabled them to build up this vast British Empire in India ; as records show.

Despite adverse comments by our enemies, it must be admitted (by all) that before the establishment of the British Rule in Bengal, our status approximated very closely to that of the Feudal Lords of Great Britain ; and we were recognised to be proprietors of our estates, that the Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis had confirmed our such proprietary rights in the lands of our estates and that the ryots of Bengal had then no rights at all in the lands they tilled. Consistently with this state of relationship that had then existed between the State, the zemindars and the ryots of Bengal, the early Regulations of the East India Company very clearly defined the powers of the zemindars as were essential for securing due payment of rents from their tenants ; as without such powers it would have been impossible for them to realise rents and pay land revenue punctually. Regulation XVII of 1793 says .

"The landlords are hereby empowered to distrain, without sending notice to any Court of Justice or any public officer—the crops and products of the earth of every description, the grain, cattle, and all other personal property, whether found in the house or on the premises of the defaulter or in the house or on the premises of any other person, within or without the limits of the estate or farm of the distrainer, belonging to their under-renters and ryot and the Taluqdars paying revenue through them for arrears of rent and revenues and to cause the said property to be sold for the discharge of such arrears" This Regulation was followed by Regulation XXXV of 1795, and Regulation VIII of 1790 which enabled the proprietors to realise their rents with even greater punctuality.

Early British Rulers in Bengal thought it fit to authorise the proprietors with wide powers because they felt that unless they were given the means of realising their dues with promptitude and facility, it would not be possible for them to meet the public demands for Land Revenue punctually—a thing which was unquestionably essential for the running of the Administration as also for consolidation of the British Empire in India.

The law of 1799 remained in force for over sixteen years, and when the consolidation of the British Empire in India was complete, the Rent Act of 1859 came into existence. In this, an attempt was for the first time made to confer by legislation new rights and privileges on the ryots of Bengal as they had never before enjoyed.

Commencing with the Act X of 1859 a sinister propaganda has been carried on incessantly against us and in almost every legislation that has since been enacted for regulating the laws between the landlord and tenants in Bengal, you will clearly perceive that our rights and privileges have been curtailed and such new rights have been conferred on the ryots.

Reviews

SIR SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE—Vol. I. By Gnanendra Nath Coomar.
Published by the author from 209, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.
Price Re. 1.

By the publication of a biographical sketch of the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, one of the most eminent Indians of all times, Mr. Coomar maintains his reputation as an esteemed chronicler in Bengali literature. Sir Surendranath's was a crowded public life extending over half a century—a life in which the history of Indian nationalism in its early stages is retold. He was on the front rank of Indian orators, the high priest of Indian nationalism, a stalwart whose whole energies were devoted to the awakening of national consciousness among his people. It was he who was mainly instrumental in raising the patriotic fervour of the Bengalees to white heat in the Swadeshi and anti-Partition days.

The first volume, which is before us, brings the narrative up to the Ahmedabad session of the Indian National Congress (1902). The method of treatment which conjures up before the mind's eye a full and vivid picture of the times is particularly welcome.

THE RAJ HERALD—An Independent Monthly published from Lucknow.
Edited by Kamakhya Dutt Ram.

We are glad to add our felicitations to the numerous others which have hailed the publication of this new periodical in northern India. The journal is out to serve "God, King and Land we live in": a nobler motto than this is hard to find. The first two issues, which are before us, well establish its claim as a non-party and catholic organ, containing as they do a variety of articles from men of light and leading in the country. They reveal a healthy aristocratic bias and maintain their all-India character by devoting some of their pages to considerations of the problems of the Indian States. A notable feature of the production is the incorporation of an Urdu and a Hindi section containing literary and other subjects of deep and abiding interest. The illustrations greatly add to its attractiveness.

Note * News * Comments

Silver Jubilee Fund

Arrangements are being made to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of His Majesty the King Emperor's accession to the throne which falls on Monday the 6th May 1935, in a befitting manner. His Majesty has been pleased to accord sanction to the proposal of raising a fund, to commemorate the occasion, for charitable purposes to be devoted to the Indian Red Cross Society, St. John Ambulance (Indian Council), Countess of Dufferin's Fund and the Indian Soldiers' Benevolent Fund. We doubt not that the celebration will evoke, spontaneous and warm rejoicings throughout the Empire. We only wish that such provision could be made for inclusion among the beneficiaries of the fund of a few more institutions that have a record of distinguished social and humanitarian service to their credit.

Reforms – Political and Economic

A careful observation of the opinions so far expressed on the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report by landholders, individually as well, as collectively, through their recognised associations throughout the country make it abundantly clear that they consider the scheme as outlined in the Report as a definite advance towards responsible form of Government. Side by side with this acknowledgement of the progressive nature of the Reforms proposals is to be found a universal recognition of the necessity of economic uplift of the masses. Fortunately for the country the Government both at the centre and in the provinces have already directed their attention to this all important question of improving the economic well-being of the millions of Indians who are eking out their miserable existence year in and year out. The task is herculean and may appear to defy solution by its very magnitude. But however difficult, however big and complicated it may be it must be solved to-day or tomorrow.

The Government have not only shown their readiness to tackle this problem of vast magnitude but have started investigations and collection of statistics and these in many instances have been followed by adoption of specific measures for the economic betterment—and all that it means—of the people. But for the success of governmental measures full co-operation the country's leaders is essential. Let our politicians remember that political reforms can have no meaning for an unpoverished people for a nation cannot stand on empty stomachs.

Sir B. L. Mitter on Evils of Communalism

Presiding at the prize-giving ceremony of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, recently, Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter stressed the evil of extending the communal principle to the fields of education. In the course of his address he said :

"Here in this institution, you have scholars belonging to many races and religions. What a unique opportunity this provides for open comradeship on a broad basis, for the expansion of your mind, for mutual sympathy and toleration, for rounding off angularities, all combining to equip you to play your part as good citizens when you leave the college.

"I mention this particularly as I notice a distinct tendency now-a-days to extend the communal principle to the field of education. It is, to my mind, a great mistake. A scholar brought up in a confined communal atmosphere is denied the chance of friendly association with young men with other ideas, of developing the larger vision and broader outlook on life. His mind is apt to get cramped instead of being expanded. It is a cruel injustice to him. Think of the difference between a hot-house plant and a plant which grows in the open with the rays of the sun and the winds of heaven playing round it. Knowledge, culture and character have no artificial bounds of race and religion."

Excise Administration in Bihar in 1933-34

The report, which has been recently published, of the working of the Excise Department in Bihar and Orissa in 1933-34 shows that the changes which the Government had made in its excise administration in the previous year were continued and also extended in some cases. Settlements of excise shops were, with few exceptions, made under the auction system and the sliding scale system was abandoned in its favour in some places with decidedly better results. Prompted by a desire to bring the prices of excisable articles within the slender means of the people during a time of economic crisis, the authorities made a further all-round reduction in the retail prices of country spirit, ganja and opium, abolished more distillery liquor shops and put back again the outstills in their places over practically the whole of the hilly, jungly and inaccessible parts of the province. Prevalence of illicit distillation on a well-organised basis, particularly on the coalfields in the Manbhumi and Hazaribagh districts, was, the author of the report holds, responsible for the re-establishment of outstills in those areas. He discounts the view widely held that the reopening of outstills has led to considerable increase in drunkenness or that it has an adverse effect on the morality of the people. "There was some outcry" he says, "that drunkenness has increased—history shows that this has been the invariable consequence at first whenever this ancient system of excise has come into its own again—but careful investigation has shown that such has not been the case in the past and I have no doubt that this will be the ultimate verdict on this occasion." We shall only be too happy if this prophecy proves to be true.

The new orientation of excise policy and methods has however led to most welcome results to the Government in these days of straitened finances. They may rightly congratulate themselves on the accrual of an increase of 3'64 lakhs over the revenue in the previous year, particularly when in the sister province of Bengal which still adheres to the old methods and policies, there was a further decline in excise revenues of approximately 7½ lakhs of rupees.

Prospects of Sugar Industry in Bengal

Speaking at the Calcutta University Commerce Society Mr. M. P. Gandhi referred to the possibility of the development of the sugar industry in Bengal.

After characterising the modern development of the sugar industry in India as eminently satisfactory and citing the remarkably rapid development of the industry within a period of two years in the midst of such an acute period of depression he opined that the industry had excellent possibilities of further development if the Government continued to evince the same sympathetic interest as they had shown hitherto because the present *per capita* consumption of sugar in India was very low and was such as would permit of a great expansion as soon as the economic conditions in the country improved. Even to-day India was the largest sugar producing country in the world, the yield of raw sugar *gur* in India being about 50,00,000 tons and the estimated production of *gur* for direct consumption alone being 30,00,000 tons in 1933-34.

He, however, expressed great concern that Bengal had not taken kindly to this matter. Her development, was very niggardly compared to the other provinces although the soil and climate in Bengal were exceptionally favourable for the cultivation of the sugar cane crop and the circumstances very propitious for the establishment of the sugar industry.

Even if Bengal might have some handicap in regard to the inferior quality of cane at the present time and shorter duration of the working season, the advantage in freight which the Bengal mills would have over the mills in other provinces in catering for the larger demands of sugar in Bengal would be an important factor in her favour. While the mills in other parts would not be able to realise anything for their molasses, Bengal mills would be able to realise some price as the molasses produced by them could be sold in Bengal, which needed a certain quantity of molasses. Above all, the industry would open out an excellent avenue of employment for a very large number of the *Bhadralog* class who are anxiously awaiting for a suitable opening to occupy their energy and time. Will this suggestion attract the attention it deserves and be followed up by those who are in a position to do so to their benefit and the benefit of the province ?

Land Revenue Remission in Madras

The Government of Madras have sanctioned the proposal of the Board of Revenue for a fifty per cent remission of assessment in certain parts of Anantapur taluk. The Board recommended that, in view of the adverse seasonal conditions prevailing in the Kadiri taluk, Anantapur district, a remission of 50 per cent of the assessment should be granted in respect of dry lands in that taluk other than mamul wastes, topes, and lands protected by wells. The Board also recommended that the collection of takkavai loan instalments due in that taluk in fasli 1344 should be suspended. The Government have sanctioned the proposal.

New Uses of Jute

Regarding the use of jute products we find of late two tendencies pulling in opposite directions. In countries such as Cuba, economic chauvinism, the latest adversary of the jute sack, shuts out the old packing material in order to develop home-produced vegetable fibres, pronounced by "Jute" as "impractical, often almost useless as compared with the sack which has been tested since the earliest days of industry". On the other hand new uses for the absorption of a steadily growing quantity of finished jute goods are from time to time brought to light. The use of jute cloth in the form of bitumen-proofed layers has now replaced the ordinary roofing felt in the insulation of tunnel walls, and new trials have been made with the laying of jute cloth on roads in Scotland. Among other original uses is the jute matting for floor coverings on indoor bowling greens. For some two or three years the Lyons Club at Sudbury Hill (England) have played on jute. The cloth is dyed green, is finer and harder in texture than

cocoanut matting and after a little use it is found fast and responsive to the bias, although there is an underlay of felt. Here is incidentally, a new idea for Indian sportmen.

All-India Landholders' Conference

It is likely that the All-India Landholders' Conference will be held in February at Delhi to express the view-point of the zemindars on the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report.

All-India Public Library Conference

The 9th All-India Public Library Conference was held at Congress House, Royapettaa Madras on the 24th and 25th December, 1934 under the presidency of Kumar Munindra Deb Kai Mahasai, M.L.C. (Bengal) and the 26th was spent in visiting the principal libraries of the town. An exhibition was held which was opened by the Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur C. Narayanswami Chetty, C.I.E., Mr. K. M. Asadulla of the Imperial Library opened the Conference with a speech. Mr. K. L. Narasimha Rao, B.L. Chairman Reception Committee delivered an address welcoming the delegates. Mr. D. T. Rao, Bar-at-law, General Secretary then read some messages including one from the Government of Bengal wishing the success of the Conference which was much appreciated. Kumar Munindra Deb Rai Mahasai, M.L.C. then delivered his interesting presidential address.

A Welcome Return

We welcome back to our province the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan. The activities of the Maharaja in England on behalf of the community and the province to which he belongs are too well-known to be recounted here. The Maharaja Bahadur will not be allowed any respite from his labours, for Bengal needs him now more than ever. Bengal zemindars particularly expect him to bring his wide knowledge and varied experience to bear upon the solution of their problems and we doubt not that his help will be forthcoming unstintedly.

Bengal Governor at Nashipur Rajbat

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal took tea with the Raja Bahadur of Nashipur and his family members at the Nashipur Rajbati on the 16th January last. Amongst others the following gentlemen were present :— H. H. The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, Mr. G. Russel, Mr. K. C. De, L. C. S., (Retd.) Mr. Twynam, Mr. Trivedi, Mr. Shattock, Col. Butler, Capt. Coltman, Mr. Mannooch, Mr. & Mrs. Montgomery, Capt. Hickie, Capt. Sykes and Mr. Arabinda Kumar Pal.

Gifts and Charities

Captain J. N. Banerjee, brother of the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, has executed a trust deed, vesting almost all his properties worth a lakh

and a quarter rupees for the benefit of the All-Bengal Physical Culture Association for the improvement of the health and physical culture of the people of Bengal in the following five Trustees namely, Hon'ble Justice Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, Mr. J. N. Basu, Capt. J. N. Banerjee, Prof. Hem Chandra Ray of the Calcutta University and Mr. Gopal Chandra Narayan Choudhury, Advocate. Capt. Banerjee will act as a Managing Trustee during his life.

A trust for such purpose is unique of its kind in India.

Mr. Bhupati Nath Deb of Beadon Street Calcutta has donated a sum of Rs. 1 lakh to the Medical College Centenary Fund. To the same Fund Mr. Kamalarajan Roy zemindar, Cossimbazar, has contributed Rs. 50,000 and Sir Hari Sanker Paul Rs. 20,000.

Nawab Bahadur Dr. Hajee Sir Md. Mozammilullah Khan Bahadur K.C.S.I., O.B.E., LL.D., of Aligarh, has donated to the Mohammedan Sporting Club, Calcutta, the sum of Rs. 500.

In thanksgiving for the recovery from illness of His Majesty the King a few years ago, Khan Bahadur Ahmed Alladin, donated Rs. 1 lakh as an educational endowment.

The trustees of the endowment have now granted Rs. 1,500 annually to the Secunderabad Islamia High School, and another sum in scholarships to 75 students of various schools in and outside the State.

OBITUARY

Prince Mirza Mohammed Baber Bahadur, one of the three surviving sons of the late Wajid Ali Shah, the last King of Oudh died recently at his Calcutta residence. At the time of his death he was 76 years old.

The late Prince was a cultured man and was well versed in Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and several other languages. His death is a great loss to the Moslem community, who regarded him as one of their leaders.

The late Prince is survived by four sons and his wife, the Begum Saheba.

Of the many sons of the late Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh, two are now living—Prince Akhram Hossein and Prince Buland Jah Askari Bahadur.

Death occurred of Sjta. Rakhal dasi Devi wife of Mr. Atul Chandra Choudhury Zemindar of Bhandarhati (Hoogly) at Ranchi on 1st January last. We offer our sincere condolence to the bereaved family.

